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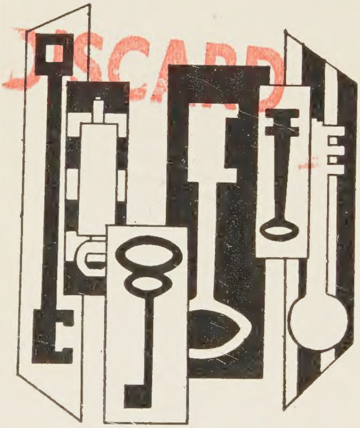

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The Cambridge History
of
American Literature

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In Three Volumes

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Colonial and Revolutionary Literature
Early National Literature: Part I

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PREFACE

IT was a hard saying of a Spanish aphorist of the seventeenth century that "to equal a predecessor one must have twice his worth." We should deprecate the application of that standard to *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, yet we are not without hope that the work, of which we here present the first volume, will be found to mark some progress in the right direction. We would call attention to the following as perhaps its chief distinctive features: (1) It is on a larger scale than any of its predecessors which have carried the story from colonial times to the present generation; (2) It is the first history of American literature composed with the collaboration of a numerous body of scholars from every section of the United States and from Canada; (3) It will provide for the first time an extensive bibliography for all periods and subjects treated; (4) It will be a survey of the life of the American people as expressed in their writings rather than a history of *belles-lettres* alone. The significance of these features may be emphasized by some reference to the characteristic merits and defects of previous works in this field, to which we are under obligations too extensive for detailed mention.

The earliest and the latest historians of a literature have great advantages: the earliest, that he has no predecessors; the latest, that he has many. It is a pleasure to remember Samuel L. Knapp, who in the preface to his *Lectures on American Literature*, published in 1829, easily justified the publication of that interesting and patriotic overture: "We have very good histories—narrative, political, military, and constitutional; but I know none, as yet, that can be called literary—meaning by the term, a history of our literature, and of our literary men." "You are aware," he continues, "that it has been said by foreigners, and often repeated, that there was no such thing as American literature; that it would be vain for anyone to seek for proofs of taste, mind, or information, worth possessing, in our early records; and some of our citizens, who have never examined these matters, have rested so quietly after these declarations, or so fondly denied them, that the bold asserters of these libels have gained confidence in tauntingly repeating them. The great epoch in our history—the revolution of 1775—seemed sufficient, alone, to many of the present generation, to give us, as a people, all the celebrity and rank, among the nations of the earth, we ought to aspire to, without taking the trouble to go back to the previous ages of heroick virtue and gigantick labours. Many of the present generation are willing to think that our ancestors were a pious and persevering race of men, who really did possess some strength of character, but, without further reflection, they are ready to allow that a few pages are 'ample room and verge enough' to trace their character and their history together: I have ventured to think differently";—and the editors of the present work are at this point in accord with Knapp.

Knapp, however, illustrates a temptation which has beset investigators of American literature from his day to ours, namely, the temptation to relinquish the unremunerative project of adequate scholarly publication and to compensate oneself by producing a text-book adapted to the means and the minds of school-boys. "My plan," he says, in a passage which throws an illuminating beam down the whole pathway of American literary scholarship—"My plan when I commenced my researches was an extensive one, and I gathered copious materials to carry it into effect. For several years past I have had access to libraries rich in American literature; but when I sat down to work up the mass I had collected, the thought suggested itself to my mind, that no adequate compensation could ever be reasonably expected for my pains. . . . Still I could not be persuaded to relinquish altogether my design, and I therefore set about abridging my outlines, dispensing with many of my remarks, and giving up many elaborate finishings I had promised myself to make in the course of my work. And another thought struck me most forcibly, that a heavy publication would not be readily within the reach of all classes of youth in our country, but that a single volume of common size, in a cheap edition, might find its way into some of our schools, and be of service in giving our children a wish to pursue the subject of our literary history as they advanced in years and knowledge." The philosophic observer may here remark that our historian, like his innumerable successors, follows the way of all flesh in that when he has abandoned his ideal immediately there bolts into his mind an excellent reason for abandoning it.

A second temptation of the American historian, which appeared long before Knapp and persisted long after him, is to magnify the achievements of one's own parish at the expense of the rest of the country. In Governor Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* there is hardly a trace of inflation; throughout that grave and noble narrative the Governor cleaves to his purpose to write "in a plain style, with singular regard unto the simple truth in all things." But in Cotton Mather one finds already a local pride that looks disdainfully upon the neighbour colonies and deigns only to compare the New England worthies with the prophets and apostles of Palestine. In the more temperate passages of the *Magnalia Christi Americana* he cultivates the just self-esteem of his section with considerations like these: "I will make no odious comparisons between Harvard College and other universities for the proportion of worthy men therein educated; but New England, compared with other parts of America, may certainly boast of having brought forth very many eminent men, in proportion more than any of them; and of Harvard College (herein truly a Sion College) it may be said, *this and that man were bred there;* of whom not the least was Mr. Thomas Shepard." The local pride, more or less justifiable, which renders tumid the periods of this energetic old Puritan, was a useful passion at a time when literature was obliged to develop independently in widely separated colonies. It is a useful passion still in a country of a hundred million inhabitants separated by such spatial and spiritual intervals as lie between Boston, New York, Richmond, Chicago, New Orleans, and San Francisco. It has stimulated the production of our innumerable "local-colorists" in poetry and prose fiction. It underlies many entertaining books and articles on the New England School, the Knickerbocker School, the Southern School, the Hoosier School, and the rest; but it is not conducive to the production of a quite unbiassed history of American literature.

Many of our historians who escaped from the colonial or provincial illusion succumbed, especially in the period before the Civil War, to the temptation of national pride. There was much provocation and incitement both at home and abroad. Transatlantic critics enquired tauntingly, "Who reads an American book?" and challenged the American authors to show reasons why sentence of death should not be pronounced against them. It no longer sufficed to say with the colonial divines of New England: We have created in the wilderness of the western world a commonwealth for Christ, a spiritual New Jerusalem. It no longer served to declare with the Revolutionary Fathers: We have established the political Promised Land, and have set up the lamp of Liberty for a beacon light to all nations. What was demanded early in the nineteenth century of the adolescent nation was an indigenous independent national literature. The wrong answer to this demand was given by the enthusiastic patriots who, after the Revolution, advocated the abrogation of English in "these States" and the invention and adoption of a new language; or compiled, to silence their skeptical English cousins, pretentious anthologies of all our village elegists; or offered Dwight's *Conquest of Canaan* as an equivalent to Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Barlow's *Columbiad* as an imposing national epic, Lathrop's poem on the sachem of the Narragansett Indians, *The Speech of Caunonicus*, as heralding the dawn of a genuinely native school of poetry. Our pioneer historian Knapp discreetly hesitates to say "whether she of 'the banks of the Connecticut' [Mrs. Sigourney], whose strains of poetic thought are as pure and lovely as the adjacent wave touched by the sanctity of a Sabbath's morn, be equal to her tuneful sisters, Hemans and Landon, on the other side of the water." But Knapp, who is a forward-looking man, anticipates the spirit of most of our *ante-bellum* critics and historians by doing what in him lies to give to his fellow countrymen a profound bias in favor of the autochthonous. "What are the Tibers and Scamanders," he cries, "measured by the Missouri and the Amazon? Or what the loveliness of Illysus or Avon by the Connecticut or the Potomack?—Whenever a nation wills it, prodigies are born. Admiration and patronage create myriads who struggle for the mastery, and for the olympick crown. Encourage the game and the victors will come." In some measure, no doubt, *Rip Van Winkle*, the Indian romances of Cooper, the philosophy of Emerson and Thoreau, the novels of Hawthorne, Longfellow's *Evangeline*, *Miles Standish*, and *Hiawatha* were responses to this encouragement of the game—to the nation's willing an expression of its new American consciousness.

Against the full rigour of the demand for an independent national literature there was, by the middle of the last century, a wholesome reaction represented in Rufus Wilmot Griswold's introduction to his *Prose Writers of America* (1847). Since this old demand is still reasserted from year to year, it may not be amiss to reprint here Griswold's admirable reply to it. "Some critics in England," he says, "expect us who write the same language, profess the same religion, and have in our intellectual firmament the same Bacon, Sidney, and Locke, the same Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton, to differ more from themselves than they differ from the Greeks and Romans, or from any of the moderns. This would be harmless, but that many persons in this country, whose thinking is done abroad, are constantly echoing it, and wasting their little productive energy in efforts to comply with the demand. But there never was and never can be an exclusively national literature. All nations are indebted to each other and to preceding ages for the means of advancement; and our own, which from our various origin may be said to be at the confluence of the rivers of time which have swept through every country, can with less justice than any other be looked to for mere novelties in art and fancy. The question between us and other nations is not who shall most completely discard the Past, but who shall make best use of it. It cannot be studied too deeply, for unless men know what has been accomplished, they will exhaust themselves in unfolding enigmas that have been solved, or in pursuing *ignes fatui* that have already disappointed a thousand expectations." With more intelligent conceptions than many of his predecessors possessed of what constitutes a national literature, Griswold was still a proud nationalist. His valuable collections of American prose and poetry are mainly illustrative of writers who flourished in the first half of the nineteenth century. Of the work of that period he forms in general estimates tempered by his confidence that something better is yet to come.

In 1855 something better came in the shape of the two large volumes of the *Cyclopædia of American Literature* by Evert A. and George L. Duyckinck, a work of extensive research, designed, in the words of the authors, "to bring together as far as possible in one book convenient for perusal and reference, memorials and records of the writers of the country and their works, from the earliest period to the present day." Here for the first time were presented, in something like adequate measure and proportion, materials for the study of our literature in what the compliers recognized as three great periods: "the Colonial Era," "the Revolutionary Period," and "the Present Century." Disclaiming any severe critical pretentions, they exhibited the breadth of their historical interests in the declaration that "it is important to know what books have been produced, and by whom; whatever the books may have been or whoever the men." A similar breadth of historical interest animated Moses Coit Tyler in the production of his notable and still unsurpassed history of American literature from 1607 to 1783. Free from the embarrassment of the early historians who had advanced to their task with a somewhat inflamed consciousness that they were defending the Stars and Stripes, Tyler had still a clear sense that he was engaged upon a great and rewarding enterprise. In his opening sentence he strikes the note which every historian of a national literature should have in his ear: "There is but one thing more interesting than the intellectual history of a man, and that is the intellectual history of a nation." If Tyler had been able to carry his narrative down to the present day in the spirit and manner of the portion of his work which he brought to completion, the need for our present undertaking would have been less obvious.

Unhappily the next noteworthy historian, Charles F. Richardson, whose *American Literature 1607–1885* was published in 1886–8, is rather a protest against the work of Tyler than a supplement to it. His leading purpose is not historical enquiry and elucidation but æsthetic judgment. "We have had enough description," he declares; "we want analysis." He opens his account with a definition of literature well framed to exclude from his consideration most of the important writing in America before the nineteenth century: "Literature is the written record of valuable thought, having other than merely practical purpose." Under this definition he is justified in asserting that "if a certain space be devoted to the colonial literature of America, then, on the same perspective ten times as much is needed to bring the record down to our day. . . . I believe that the time has come for the student to consider American literature as calmly as he would consider the literature of another country." Under this calm consideration the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries dwindle into a sombre little vestibule before the wide edifice which contains the writers who flourished through the middle years of the nineteenth century—Hawthorne is the latest novelist who receives extended notice. Richardson was not immune from the influence of the Zeitgeist of the eighties. What he does is, in short, to create the idea of what we may call the American Victorian Age, before and after which there is little that merits the attention of the dispassionate critic.

Professor Barrett Wendell in his interesting *Literary History of America*, published in 1900, presents with even sharper emphasis than Professor Richardson his similar conception of a closed "classical" period existing through the middle years of the last century. As we view the Americans from the beginning of their history, "we can instantly perceive," he declares, "that only the last, the Americans of the nineteenth century, have produced literature of any importance. The novelists and the historians, the essayists and the poets, whose names come to mind when American literature is mentioned, have all flourished since 1800." This is the somewhat restricted point of view established in the Introduction. In the composition of the history, the survey of the field, one suspects, was still further restricted by the descent upon Professor Wendell of the spirit of Cotton Mather; for the total effect of the narrative is an impression that the literary history of America is essentially a history of the birth, the renaissance, and the decline of New England.

The *Cambridge History* marks a partial reversion to the position of the earlier historians who looked into the past with interest and into the present and future not without hope. Following in general the plan of *The Cambridge History of English Literature* and of our encyclopædic Duyckinck, we have made it our primary purpose to represent as adequately as space allowed all the periods of our national past, and to restore the memory of writers who are neglected because they are forgotten and because they are no longer sympathetically understood. To write the intellectual history of America from the modern æsthetic standpoint is to miss precisely what makes it significant among modern literatures, namely, that for two centuries the main energy of Americans went into exploration, settlement, labour for subsistence, religion, and statecraft. For nearly two hundred years a people with the same traditions and with the same intellectual capacities as their contemporaries across the sea found themselves obliged to dispense for the most part with art for art. But the long inhibition and belated expansion of their purely æsthetic impulses, unfavourable as it was to the development of poetry and fiction, was no serious handicap to the production of a prose competently recording their practical activities and expressing their moral, religious, and political ideas. Acquaintance with the written record of these two centuries should enlarge the spirit of American literary criticism and render it more energetic and masculine. To a taste and judgment unperverted by the current finical and transitory definitions of literature, there is something absurd in a critical sifting process which preserves a Restoration comedy and rejects Bradford's *History of Plymouth;* which prizes a didactic poem in the heroic couplets and despises the work of Jonathan Edwards; which relishes the letters of some third rate English poet, but finds no gusto in the correspondence of Benjamin Franklin; which sends a student to the novels of William Godwin, but never thinks of directing him to *The Federalist.* When our American criticism treats its facile novelists and poetasters as they deserve, and heartily recognizes and values the works in which the maturest and wisest Americans have expressed themselves, its references to the period prior to 1800 will be less apologetic.

For the nineteenth century, too, without neglecting the writers of imaginative literature who have been most emphasized by our literary historians, we have attempted to do a new service by giving a place in our record to departments of literature, such as travels, oratory, memoirs, which have lain somewhat out of the main tradition of literary history but which may be, as they are in the United States, highly significant of the national temper. In this task we have been much aided by the increasing number of monographs produced within the past quarter of a century upon aspects of American literary history. Such collections as *A Library of American Literature*, edited by Edmund Clarence Stedman and Ellen M. Hutchinson in 1889–90, and the *Library of Southern Literature* (1908–13), compiled by various Southern men of letters, have been indispensable.

In the actual preparation of the work we have been indebted for many details to the unsparing assistance of Mrs. Carl Van Doren, who has also compiled the index.

1 June, 1917.

W. P. T.
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Book I

CHAPTER I

Travellers and Explorers, 1583-1763

THE English folk who became Americans during the early years of the seventeenth century kept the language of the relatives and friends whom they left, and with it their share in the literary heritage of the race. They owed much to the influences surrounding them in their new homes, but such skill in writing as they possessed came with them from the other side of the Atlantic. The names of an earlier group of adventurers are associated with the New World because they made a voyage along its coastline or resided for a little while at some seaside settlement. Sir Humphrey Gilbert on his homeward voyage from the New-found-land in 1583, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, while the *Golden Hind* was tossed by "terrible seas breaking short and high pyramidwise," is the finest type of the seamen who made the English occupation of America possible. The narrative of Gilbert's fatal voyage, written by Edward Haie, found a place in the ample store-house of adventurous records which makes all who love good reading and virile English the debtors of Richard Hakluyt.

It is an accident of geography which gives American readers a valid claim upon Humphrey Gilbert and his precursors and successors who told their straightforward tales for Hakluyt or for the booksellers who issued the scores of thin pamphlets in which Londoners first read about the trans-Atlantic voyage. These were in their day only a few among the many pamphlets which entertained the frequenters of St. Paul's churchyard with experiences in odd corners of the Mediterranean or of the Indian Ocean, or along the Arctic route to Central Asia. They all shared in developing the British Empire and English literature. Martin Frobisher and North-West-Foxe beyond the polar circle, Thomas Hariot inside the Carolina sandspits, and Sir Richard Hawkins in the Gulf of Mexico are by this chance of geography given a place at the beginning of the annals of American literature, instead of sharing the scant notice allotted to their equally deserving contemporaries whom fate led elsewhere. The same fate sent Francis Drake to sojourn for a time on the California coast, and it likewise set in motion the economic and political forces which two centuries later transferred this region into the keeping of the English race, thereby adding the great circumnavigator to the American roll. Later came one whom Americans have adopted as a folk hero, Captain John Smith.[1] He risked his life with equal abandon in Flanders and Turkey and Potowatomy's land, but Virginia claims him as her own. He may have been, as it was once the fashion to proclaim, an inordinate liar, but whatever the historians say, the certain fact is that what he wrote was read in his own day and has ever since been read by thousands who have identified him with the first English colony.

"And this is as much as my memory can call to mind worthie of note; which I have purposely collected, to satisfie my friends of the true worth and qualitie of Virginia." So John Smith wrote at the end of his "Description" of that colony published in 1612.

> Yet some bad natures will not sticke to slander the Countrey, that will slovenly spit at all things, especially in company where they can find none to contradict them. Who though they were scarse ever 10 miles from *James* Town, or at the most but at the falles; yet holding it a great disgrace that amongst so much action, their actions were nothing, exclaime of all things, though they never adventured to knowe any thing; nor ever did any thing but devoure the fruits of other mens labours. Being for most part of such tender educations and small experience in martiall accidents, because they found not English cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their

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[1] See also Book I, Chap. II.

owne wishes any of their accustomed dainties, with feather beds and downe pillowes, Tavernes and alehouses in every breathing place, neither such plenty of gold and silver and dissolute liberty as they expected, [they] had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their means to returne for England. For the Country was to them a miserie, a ruine, a death, a hell, and their reports here, and their owne actions there according.

Straightforwardness of narrative was characteristic of the period. This quality, and the absence of literary consciousness, distinguish the accounts written by these English seafarers from the productions of the rival French and Spanish voyagers. Each adapted his style to the public which he sought to influence. They were all alike trying to start or to accelerate the stream which was to transform the Western hemisphere into a part of the European world. Consequently the English tracts rarely possess qualities which separate them from the rest of the mass of seventeenth-century travel-books. Another result is that nearly all of them are more easily read, three centuries later, than the Continental output of the same period.

The corner of the New-found-land which retained this distinctive name exerted an especial attraction in the earlier days upon the adventurers who felt a longing to express themselves in literary form. Humphrey Gilbert was accompanied thither by the learned Stephen Parmenius of Buda, whose Latin verses "Ad Thamesin" are preserved on Hakluyt's pages. One of the first Englishmen to establish an American residence was William Vaughn, a Welshman and the composer of an amazing volume called *The Golden Fleece . . . Transported from Cambrioll Colchos, out of the Southermost Part of the Iland commonly called the Newfoundland, By Orpheus Junior*, to London, where it was printed in 1626. This work has long been the butt of despairing historians, who have sought for the Ariadnean thread which should guide them through its 350 pages of puerile fancies, discursive theology, significant episodes, and rhymed prose. For the reader who skips casually from paragraph to paragraph, the volume yields an entertaining notion of what was talked about in the fishing shacks on the northern coast, and of how the leader of one band of adventurers amused himself. It contains a parody of the Litany which is said to have been sung by four of the "Fraternitie attired in long white Robes," and may have been part of an embryo pageant wherewith the days were whiled away.

Vaughn had a "deare Friende and Fellow-Planter, Master Robert Hayman, who with Pen and Person" prepared "more roome for Christians in the Newfound-World," and who published in 1628 a volume of *Quodlibets, lately come over from New Britaniola, All of them Composed and done at Harbor-Grace in Britaniola, anciently called Newfound-Land.* The verses which fill its pages passed current with the similar output of his age. A number, and by no means the least rhythmical, were inspired by his associates on the western shores of the Atlantic. One of these is addressed "To the right Honourable, Sir George Calvert, Knight, Baron of Baltamore, and Lord of Avalon in Britaniola, who came over to see his Land there, 1627"; it compares Baltimore to the Queen of Sheba.

The repayment of the drafts made upon the literature of the motherland was not long delayed. It is more than probable that Shakespeare found in the reports of some New World voyagers one of his most momentous inspirations. Hugh Peters and the younger Harry Vane were only two of the temporary Americans who returned to take a lively part in the pamphleteering conflicts of the Protectorate. Roger Williams divided his controversial activities equally between the old and New England, and his *Key into the Languages of America* was cast into shape while he was on his way from one to the other.

Robert Sedgwick, one of the worthiest of those New Englanders who were recalled to serve the mother country, obtained a place for himself in literary annals by the reports which he addressed to Cromwell from the West Indies, where he was in charge of an expedition against the Spaniards. Carlyle, wearied of "the deadly inextricable jungle of tropical confusions" through which he struggled in "the Stygian quagmires of Thurloe's Collection of the State Papers from 1638 to 1661," found Sedgwick's letters "of all others the best worth reading on this subject." Sedgwick was a prospering settler at Charlestown in Massachusetts, speculating in land

and customs duties, an organizer of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company, when his worldly career was diverted by a chance meeting with Cromwell. The Lord Protector recognized a man after his own model, and sent him in quick succession against the Dutch on the Hudson River, the French at Acadia, and the Spanish of the Island Colonies. In one of his reports from his last expedition to Jamaica he begs the Protector to pardon his

> prolix and rude expressions. I am apt sometimes to think I shall write no more. I am sometimes sick, and think I may fall among the rest of my countrymen; and durst do no other than plainly to let your highness know our state and condition.

Plainly and simply, and most convincingly, he set forth the deplorable situation of Jamaica and of the English soldiers who were dying there.

On the North American mainland, settlement followed exploration and colonization. For half a century there was little record of travelling beyond the limits of the outlying pasture lands and adjoining home sites. Occasionally someone bolder than his neighbours pushed a canoe up-stream to the head of navigation, or wandered into the valleys beyond the surrounding ridges, but very rarely were observations or physical experiences committed to paper. The impulse to print the reports of travellers did not come until there was land to be sold. The seventeenth-century promoters of speculation carried on the practice of distributing tracts telling about the property they wished others to buy. The little pamphlets issued by the Virginia Company, by the Massachusetts Agents, by William Penn in German, Dutch, and French as well as in English, by the Scots Proprietors of the Jerseys, and by the Lords of Carolina, are today worth more money than many of the acres that they describe. Most of these early tracts were written by men who had travelled through the regions of which they wrote. Rarely is there any substantial reason for doubting the honesty of what was reported as the result of actual observation. "What I write, is what I have proved," remarks one of the frankest of these promoters of a New World settlement in which he hoped to make his fortune, Edward Bland, Merchant. On 27 August, 1650, Bland set forth from the head of "Appamattuck River" in Virginia in search of the Falls of Blandina. His journey took him across broad stretches of "very rich Champian Land," "a pleasant Country, of temperate Ayre, and fertile Soyle." The beauty of the country, the heaps of bones which led the native guides to relate tales of valorous deeds, and the preservation of the party through "information our Guide told us he had from a woman that was his Sweet-heart," offered opportunities that a later-day reader wishes might have been improved with some of the appreciation of literary possibilities which a Frenchman could hardly have neglected. Bland's narrative goes steadily forward toward the goal and home again, without digression for any merely entertaining purpose from each day's march and the nightly watch against surprise.

The natives supplied the picturesque element for most of the writing of colonial times. To them also were due a number of involuntary journeyings, the accounts of which make an important part of American literature. There is nothing in English, or in any other language, that surpasses these narratives of Indian captivities in vividness or in the bare statement of physical suffering and of mental torment. They held the attention of readers who knew the writers, and the stream of successive reprintings is still going on, to supply an unabated demand.

The first and the best known of these narratives is that of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson.[1] She was the wife of the minister at Lancaster, Massachusetts, where the natives seized her when they burned the town during King Philip's War. The record of her subsequent "Removes" has seldom been equalled as a direct appeal for human sympathy. The hours following her capture may well have been

> the dolefullest night that ever my eyes saw. Oh the roaring, and singing, and dancing, and yelling of those black creatures in the night, which made the place a lively resemblance of hell . . . There remained nothing to me but one poor wounded Babe, and it seemed at present worse than death, that it was in such a pitiful condition, bespeaking Compassion, and I had no refreshing for it, nor suitable things to revive it.

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[1] 2d ed. 1682. The date of the first edition is unknown.

Mrs. Rowlandson's narrative is matched by that of John Gyles of Pemaquid (1736), who collected from his minutes

> these private Memoirs, at the earnest Request of my Second Consort; that we might have a Memento ever ready at Hand to excite, in our selves Gratitude & Thankfulness to GOD; and in our Offspring a due Sense of their Dependance on the SOVEREIGN of the Universe.

Gyles was captured in 1689, and spent the ensuing nine years with the Indians along the Penobscot River and with the French in Canada. The natives soon tired of the too easy amusement of seeing him suffer, and as he managed to avoid death by drowning and frost-bite, he gradually made a place for himself by the humblest usefulness.

The natives of the woods of Maine and those of the everglades of Florida were equally skilful in devising methods of terrifying strangers who were thrown by chance or indiscretion amongst them. The account of *God's Protecting Providence In the Remarkable Deliverance of Robert Barrow, Faithfully Related by Jonathan Dickenson* (1699), is in many respects the best of all the captivity tracts. Driven ashore by a storm on the Gulf coast of Florida, late in September, 1696, the survivors, among them Dickenson's wife with their baby at her breast, six weeks later reached St. Augustine. For most of this interval, the wanderers were in hourly expectation of death. As is frequently the case, the record of these experiences is so undemonstrative that it is unconvincing, until the whole story is reread from the beginning. It was only after the more desperate dangers were over, and the prospect began to favour their escape, that Dickenson's narrative became pathetic. When the Spanish outposts were reported to be only two marches away, the fugitives

> had a great Loss; having a Quart of Berries whole, and as much pounded to mix with Water, to feed our Child with; the Fire being disturbed, the Cloth which we had our Food in was burn'd.

This was a loss which might easily have proved, to persons emaciated and weakened by suffering, the fatal last straw; but in spite of a driving storm and freezing weather, all but two of the party managed to drag their blood-caked bodies through the sand to the Spanish garrison. At St. Augustine the Commandant and the other residents divided their scanty supplies with the fugitives, and nursed them until they were fit to be sent on their way to the Carolinas. The aged Quaker, Robert Barrow, survived all these experiences just long enough to greet the Friends who were awaiting him at Philadelphia. There he died three days later, on 4 April, 1697,

> having passed through great Exercises, in much Patience; and in all the times of our greatest Troubles, was ready to Counsel us to Patience, and to wait what the Lord our God would bring to pass: And he would often express, That it was his Belief, that our Lives should be spared, and not be lost in that Wilderness, and amongst those People, who would have made a Prey of us.

The same fundamental religious impulse which sustained Robert Barrow on the storm-swept Florida beaches had settled the New England Puritan colonies. This same overwhelming impulse drove into these colonies, half a century after their permanent establishment, a succession of groups of wanderers whose peregrinations left a broad and often blood-stained trail the length of the continent and seaward to the islands. The men and women who made up these groups, called in derision Quakers, wrote as freely as they discoursed, and the spirit that animated them brooked no interference with either speech or progress. The names of several, Mary Dyer, Marmaduke Stevenson, and George Fox, whom Roger Williams "digg'd out of his Burrowes," to wit Edward Burroughs, are better known, but none of them wrote more forcefully than Alice Curwen. In the year 1660, "hearing of the great Tribulation that the Servants of the Lord did suffer in *Boston*, of cruel Whippings, of Bonds and Imprisonments, yea, to the laying down of their natural Lives," Mistress Curwen felt the call to go and profess in that bloody town. "Having this Testimony sealed in my Heart," she writes, "I laboured with my Husband day and night to know his Mind, but he did not yet see it to be required of him," he having but just returned from the Lancashire gaol in which he had been confined for refusing to pay the tythe. The call reached him in season to enable him to embark on the vessel on which his wife had taken passage for America. Journeying to Boston, they missed imprisonment through a legal technicality, and went on their way to the eastward. They were more fortunate on their return, for the constables drove them "all along the Street, until they came to the Prison, whereinto they thrust us; but the Lord was with us, and our Service there was great; for many people, both rich and poor, came to look upon us."

Another traveller who did his best to scour the colonists of heretical opinions, his own opinions being as pronounced when he was directed by the Quaker spirit as when he followed the Anglican order, was George Keith. He knew the controversially-minded Americans better than anyone else at the end of the seventeenth century. The descriptions of his opponents which are scattered through his hundred-odd publications are an invaluable elucidation of the state of mind which fructified in the revivals of forty years later, when George Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards came to make plain the way to salvation. Whitefield[1] kept a diary during his constant journeyings between England and America and through the mainland colonies. These personal records were published at the close of each important stage of his wanderings, and the seven pamphlets in which they appeared were reprinted in numerous editions. They contributed largely to the success of the great revivalist's ministry. Upon the reader of two hundred years later they still leave the impression of a dominating spirit, and of a sweet nature unconscious of its power. Worn out by wordy wrestlings with a recalcitrant sinner, Whitefield would cheerfully get out of a sick bed to preach to the Free Masons, "with whom I afterwards dined, and was used with the utmost civility."

An elemental fondness for rhyme and rhythm was responsible for the preservation of a few records of travellings not in themselves as remarkable as the effusions for which they gave the occasion. Two of these were *A Monumental Memorial of A Late Voyage from Boston in New-England To London, Anno 1683. In a Poem. By Richard Steere*, and a broadside, *A Journal of the Taking of Cape-Breton, Put into Metre By L. G., One of the Soldiers of the Expedition*, in 1745.

The eighteenth century brought economic independence and settled social conditions to the older English colonies. With these went the leisure and comfort which prepare a community for the conscious enjoyment of literature. These changing circumstances are reflected in the keen observations and amusing descriptions preserved by one of the sprightliest of New England matrons, Madame Sarah Knight. During the winter of 1704–5, Mrs. Knight was obliged to go to New York to attend to some business affairs. The trip from Boston followed the shore line, and was accomplished as expeditiously as her energetic nature, bored by the humdrum happenings along the way, could hurry it along, but five months elapsed before she regained her own fireside and warming pan. From the first stopping place, where she found the other guests "tyed by the Lipps to a pewter engine," and the next day's guide, whose "shade on his Hors resembled a Globe on a Gate post," there was scarcely a stage of her journey which did not provide its subject for entertaining comment.

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[1] See also Book I, Chap. v.

An equal appreciation of the fact that mileage and food are not the only things worth recording by those who go abroad gives permanent value to the diaries kept by the second William Byrd of Westover in 1732 and 1733, when he followed the course of Edward Bland in searching for the likeliest Virginian land-holdings. Byrd was a model for all who journey in company, for he "broke not the Laws of Travelling by uttering the least Complaint" at inopportune torrents or "an impertinent Tooth . . . that I cou'd not grind a Biscuit but with much deliberation and presence of mind." He "contriv'd to get rid of this troublesome Companion by cutting a Caper," with a stout cord connecting the tooth and the snag of a log. "This new way of Tooth-drawing, being so silently and deliberately perform'd, both surprized and delighted all that were present, who cou'd not guess what I was going about."

Byrd has been made known for his "happy proficiency in polite and varied learning." He was not peculiar, however, among the gentlemen of his generation for a style which shows an acquaintance with what is recognized as literature. Most of the people who possessed inherited wealth and established position were able to spell correctly, and they obeyed the laws of English grammar. Many of Byrd's contemporaries in the New World could not do either of these things, and it has come to be the fashion among their descendants to excuse those eminently respectable and often brave and prosperous men and women, because of a belief that their short-comings were in accord with the practice, or lack thereof, of their own day. Byrd's writings, and even more clearly those of the Maryland physician Alexander Hamilton, furnish the best of evidence that illiteracy was ignorance due to a lack of education as truly in 1700 as it is two centuries later.

Dr. Hamilton, who is not known to have been related to the more eminent publicist of the same name, in 1744 followed his own advice and sought to rid himself of a persistent indisposition by a change of climate and companions. Except for this health-seeking incentive, his journey from Annapolis to Portsmouth in New Hampshire was a pleasure trip, probably the earliest recorded in America.

Reading was easily the first of Dr. Hamilton's pleasures. On his journey he picked up from the Philadelphia book stalls the latest English novels, and in New York he bought a new edition of a classical favourite. When his own supply of reading matter gave out, he rummaged through the inn or explored his host's book shelves. The tavern keeper at Kingston in Rhode Island convinced him that it was unlawful, and therefore inexpedient, to travel on the Sabbath, and so he loitered about all day, "having nothing to do and no books to read, except it was a curious History of the Nine Worthies (which we found in Case's library) a book worthy of that worthy author Mr. Burton, the diligent compiler and historian of Grub Street." The scenery, luckily, furnished a partial compensation for the dearth of literary pastime, for he noted as he approached this hostelry that it brought to his mind "some romantic descriptions of rural scenes in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*."

The day following his arrival at Boston being Sunday, he attended meeting, where he heard "solid sense, strong connected reasoning and good language." For the rest of this day's entry in his journal he records "staid at home this night, reading a little of Homer's First Iliad." As he does not say, we can only guess whether he took his Homer in the original or through a translation. With Latin we know that he was on intimate terms, even without the evidence of his Scottish medical degree. While at Newport he writes:

I stayed at home most of the forenoon and read Murcius [Meursius], which I had of Dr. Moffatt, a most luscious piece, from whom all our modern salacious poets have borrowed their thoughts. I did not read this book upon account of its lickerish contents, but only because I knew it to be a piece of excellent good Latin, and I wanted to inform myself of the proper idiom of ye language upon that subject.

On his return to New York he notes that a day

passed away, as many of our days do, unremarked and trifling. I did little more than breakfast, dine and sup. I read some of Homer's twelfth Iliad, and went to the coffee-house in the afternoon.

Back in Philadelphia, he found the September air

very sharp and cold for the season, and a fire was very grateful. I did little but stay at home all day, and employed my time in reading of Homer's Iliad.

His next forenoon was

spent in reading of Shakespear's *Timon of Athens, or Manhater*, a play which tho' not written according to Aristotle's rules, yet abounds with inimitable beauties, peculiar to this excellent author.

With such saddle-bag friends to accompany him, Dr. Hamilton was well prepared to pass judgment upon the casual acquaintances who crossed his path. When he first looked about him in Philadelphia, he

observed several comical, grotesque Phizzes in the inn where I put up, which would have afforded variety of hints for a painter of Hogarth's turn. They talked there upon all subjects,—politicks, religion, and trade,—some tolerably well, but most of them ignorantly.

The next morning the Doctor kept his room, reading Montaigne's *Essays*, "a strange medley of subjects, and particularly entertaining." On Sunday he was asked out to dinner, but found "our table chat was so trivial and trifling that I mention it not. After dinner I read the second volume of *The Adventures of Joseph Andrews*, and thought my time well spent."

Dr. Hamilton, one of the most entertaining of American travellers, appears to advantage even beside the urbanity of Byrd and the sprightliness of Mrs. Knight. Bent upon no special errand, he observed freely, and all the more so, one suspects, because of his detachment. Such a quality was not so easy during the next generation, when the wars between the French and English in America, the beginnings of colonial, and then national, pride, the growth of natural science, and the coming of the romantic spirit of solitude and love of nature furnished new motives. Then travelling became a fad, a profession, a duty, and led to the production of an extensive literature which may more properly be discussed with the work of men who were no longer colonials but citizens of the new republic.

CHAPTER II

The Historians, 1607–1783

"IN these five moneths of my continuance here," wrote John Pory, of Virginia, in 1619, "there have come at one time or another eleven sails of ships into this river; but fraighted more with ignorance, than with any other marchansize." The writer was a Cambridge graduate, a man of good standing in England, and had crossed the Atlantic to find that Virginia was not the Virginia of his dreams. Ten years earlier all the incoming ships brought well-born adventurers to Jamestown; now they held only those who intended to produce tobacco. Henceforth the future of the colony was with those who could clear the forests, establish plantations, and withstand the agues of the mosquito-infested lowlands. The leaves of fate for Virginia were not to be thumbed in a book. They stood broad and strong over the rich bottom-lands, where the summer sun seemed to the onlooker to deck their oily surfaces with a coat of silver. In the days of the gentlemen adventurers nine men wrote about the history of the colony; in the days of the tobacco growers a century could not show as many.

The earliest Virginians were full of enthusiasm and wished to tell the coming generations how the colony of Virginia was founded. Their enterprise was popular in England, and he who wrote about it was sure of readers. The men who planted tobacco were prosaic. They were poor men become rich, or well-born men become materialistic, and it was only after many years that any of the forms of culture appeared among them. One of these forms was literature, but it was ever a plant of spindling growth.

The first historian in Virginia, the first in the British colonies, was Captain John Smith. He was twenty-seven years old and a soldier of fortune when he landed at Jamestown in 1607. He was a member of the council, and the council was lawmaker, executive, and judge under the authority of the Company which sent the colony out. According to the enthusiasts who preached colonization three tasks awaited the men of Jamestown: to discover mines as the Spaniards had discovered them in Mexico, to convert the Indians to Christianity, and to plant another England in the New World. The third only was accomplished, and it was accomplished chiefly through the efforts and good sense of Smith.

Of the one hundred and five colonists thirty-five were gentleman adventurers, leaders of the enterprise but useless in the forest. They waited in idleness while labourers built houses and constructed a fort. Then illness came, agues and fluxes, and it seemed that Jamestown would share the fate of Roanoke Island. Smith saved it by turning trader. Going to the Indians with trinkets he secured enough corn to last through the critical years of 1607 to 1609. Some of the high-born adventurers approved of Smith's leadership, but others found him intolerable. He was the son of a Lincolnshire copyholder; and how should he give orders to his betters? Moreover, he was boastful. From mere boyhood he had been seeking his fortune with sword in hand, in France, Italy, and southeastern Europe. He told many stories of what he had done, romantically coloured and tending to proclaim his glory. Posterity does not accept them as true, and we may not be surprised if his companions in the colony found them unbelievable. Thus he had his enemies as well as his friends. In the shifting of parties his own friends became triumphant and Smith was recognized as president for more than a year.

Late in 1609 he returned to England. He had lost the confidence of the Company, and nothing he could do sufficed to regain it. In 1614 he induced some London merchants to send him to the northern coasts with a fishing expedition. While the sailors sought the cod at Monhegan, he sailed along the coast, making an excellent map, and giving names to bays headlands, and rivers. At his request the Prince of Wales gave the name New England to this region, and to New England Smith transferred his affections, seeking support for a colony he wished to plant there. A large expedition was promised, and he received the title "Admirall of New England"; but nothing came of his hopes save the title, which he invariably attached to his name thereafter.

It was evidently by accident that Smith became a historian. In the spring of 1608 Wingfield, one of his opponents at Jamestown, a cousin by marriage to the Earl of Southampton, departed for England, his mind full of his wrongs. Two months later another ship departed, carrying a long letter from Smith to his friends filled with a hopeful account of the colony. This letter was handed about among the members of the Company and late in the year came into the hands of one who had it published with the title, *A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Noate as Hath Hapned in Virginia since the First Planting of that Collony*. A preface explained: "Somewhat more was by him written, which being as I thought (fit to be private) I would not adventure to make it publicke." The *True Relation* is the first printed American book, and of all Smith's writings it is the one which posterity most esteems. It is not boastful, or controversial, although it is very personal. The style is direct, vivid, and generally simple. It was well received, and seems to have awakened literary ambitions in its author.

Smith's second effort was made in 1612, when he published *A Map of Virginia. With a Description of the Countrey*. It contained a good map of the shores of the Chesapeake Bay, and an account of the natural history of Virginia, together with supplementary chapters on events in the colony from June, 1608, to the end of 1609. These accounts were written by some of his friends and are in his praise. Smith calls them "examinations" and had them taken down while their authors were in London. They were evidently prepared to revive his waning fortunes. In 1616, after his return from New England, he published *A Description of New England*, and in 1620 *New Englands Trials*, a tract on the fisheries. The *Trials* was brought down to date in 1622, and an account of the colony at Plymouth was included in it.

Smith was now a confirmed hack writer. Possibly he had Purchas and Hakluyt in mind when in 1624 he gave to the world a book containing all that he knew about Virginia. It was a narrative drawn from several sources. First, he used his own works, and when they were exhausted he reproduced, or culled from, any relation he had at hand. The whole bore the title *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles.* Relatively an unimportant part of it is written by Smith, but he does not pretend to have written the parts he did not write. Three other books completed his literary career. One was called *An Accidence or the Path-way to Experience*, a tract which appeared in 1626 and was reissued several times, not always with the same title. It contained a description of the most observable features of a ship of war, and was designed for young seamen. In 1630 was published *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine Iohn Smith;* and in 1631 came another tract, *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New-England.* In the year it was published, 21 June, he died in London and was buried in St. Saviour's Church.

Two serious charges of falsification have been brought against Smith, one in connection with the Pocahontas incident, and the other in reference to his *True Travels*. Late in 1607 he made a trading expedition among the Indians and was captured and carried before Powhatan. In the *True Relation* he says he was well treated by the great chief and sent back to Jamestown with all kindness. In the *Generall Historie*, he says that he was about to be slain by the order of Powhatan, when Pocahontas, the chieftain's daughter, threw her arms over his prostrate body and begged for his life so effectively that he was set free. The case is unpleasant for Smith. Not only is the matter omitted from his early works, but it is not mentioned by any other writer of the comparatively large group of contemporary historians of Virginia. Even Hamor, who has much to say about Pocahontas, says nothing about a rescue of Captain Smith. It is conceivable that Smith may have omitted the story from the *True Relation*, lest it should produce a bad effect in England, but he could hardly have kept it from the other settlers at Jamestown, and if the story was once current there, where Pocahontas was well known, it must have been repeated by one of the other writers. By every canon of good criticism we must reject the story. Smith has also been accused of inventing most of the incidents which reflect his glory in the *True Travels*. The charge rests on an alleged misuse of geographical names and on the alleged impossible form of a grant of a coat of arms which Smith said was given him by Sigismund of Transylvania and which was accepted as genuine at the Heralds' College in London. The criticism[1] is very sweeping. If it is well taken our historian degenerated in the latter part of his career to a literary mountebank, but the matter may still await a more judicious investigation than it has yet received.

Turning from Virginia[2] we shall not find any considerable early historian in another colony outside of New England. So far as the region south of the Hudson is concerned idealism in regard to planting colonies exhausted itself with the splendid dreams of Raleigh, Hakluyt, and Edward Sandys. Lord Baltimore and Penn, it is true, attempted to revive it in Maryland and Pennsylvania, but their colonists did not respond to their efforts. These colonies were settled by as practical a class of farmers and traders as those who brought the river bottoms of Virginia under the sway of King Tobacco. Throughout this region literature had to wait on material prosperity before it could find a home.

The New Englanders, however, were idealists from the beginning. This, of course, means that their ministers and leading men were idealists. The majority of the inhabitants were as matter of fact as the majority in any other colony. But the ruling class were committed to the defence of an idealistic theory, and they naturally wished its history preserved. Out of this impulse came several historical works which we could ill afford to lose. All things considered, the Puritans made better historians than the Virginians. It is true their writings abound in superstition, but the superstitions were honestly set down as they were honestly held by the people of the age.

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[1] Its most notable champion is Mr. Lewis L. Kropf, who asserts that when he communicated a copy of Smith's patent to the Hungarian Heraldic Society it was received with an outburst of laughter. Mr. Kropf pronounces Smith "an impudent forger." See Kropf, Lewis L., *Captain John Smith of Virginia, Notes and Queries*, London, 1890, Seventh Series, vol. ix; also *American Historical Review*, vol. iii, p. 737. A series of letters by the Rev. Edward D. Neill and William Wirt Henry, beginning in the Richmond *Dispatch*, 12 July, 1877, and continuing through several weeks, threshed out this controversy without settling anything.

[2] For the works of the early minor Virginia historians see the Bibliography.

They are, therefore, a necessary part of the history of the times. Moreover, the Puritans, ministers and godly laymen alike, wrote a solid and connected kind of history, and they wrote enough of it to furnish a good picture of the times.

Two minor authors introduce the early group of New England historians. The real name of the first is not known, but his book is called, from its publisher, "Mourt's" *Relation*, a description of affairs at Plymouth from its settlement until the date of publication, 1622. The other book, which appeared in 1624 with the title *Good News from New England*, was by Edward Winslow, one of the leading colonists. They are both short accounts of the daily doings of the men who planted the first permanent New England colony; and they are comparable in style and scope to Smith's *True Relation*, and to any of the other early narrations of Virginia or Maryland. They were written to inform friends in England of the progress of the Pilgrim settlements.

After "Mourt" and Winslow we come to two historians whose excellence entitles them to first rank among the earliest writers of their kind. They wrote quite as much as Captain John Smith, and their writings are more to be esteemed. No one has cast doubts on the accuracy of William Bradford, of Plymouth, or of John Winthrop, of Massachusetts Bay. While not historical compositions as such, their books are, in vivid and sustained human interest, as well as in the power of depicting the conditions of the first settlements, a most adequate and successful kind of history. Each is a journal written by a man who stood at the head of affairs, whose life was so important in his day that we have in it a reflection of the progress of the important things of the colony in which he lived.

William Bradford was one of the *Mayflower* passengers whose sober judgment and integrity had won for him the confidence of the Pilgrims ere they sailed for America. In 1621 he was chosen governor, and he held the office by annual re-election until his death in 1657, except for five years when, as Winthrop said, "by importunity he gat off." He believed it his duty to write about what he had seen and known of the trial and success of the men who, under divine guidance, had made Plymouth a fact. He began to write about 1630 and proceeded at so leisurely a gait that in 1646 he had only reached the year 1621. Four years later his account had come to the year 1646, but here his efforts ceased. His work is known as *The History of Plymouth Plantation.*

Neither Bradford nor his immediate successors made an effort to publish the history. They seem to have considered it a document to be kept for the use of future historians. It was, in fact, freely used for this purpose by his nephew, Nathaniel Morton, in a book called *New England's Memorial*, published in 1669. It remained in the hands of the family of the author for a hundred years and finally came into the possession of the Rev. Thomas Prince, who used it in writing his *Chronological History*, published in 1736. Hutchinson also used it in preparing his *History*. When Prince died he left the manuscript, with many other valuable writings, in the tower of the Old South Church, in Boston. During the Revolution the British troops used this church for a riding school, and Prince's carefully collected library was dispersed. The British gone, such books as could be found were gathered together, but no trace of Bradford's manuscript was discovered. It was long believed to be lost, but it found its way to London, where it came at last to the library of the Bishop of London, and for many years lay unnoticed at Fulham Palace. In 1844 Wilberforce published a book on the Protestant Church in America, in which he referred to the manuscript. Four years later appeared Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church*, an English work, and in it also was a reference to the manuscript. Seven years later two gentlemen of Boston came across the reference in Anderson's book. An investigation was made, and the identity of the Fulham manuscript with Bradford's was completely established. The Bishop of London held that only an act of Parliament could restore it to the place whence it had been taken. He made, however, no objection to a request that the Massachusetts Historical Society be allowed to publish the manuscript, and in 1856 that society gave the world the first complete publication of Bradford's book. It was enriched with annotations by the learned Charles Deane. In 1867 another request was made that the bishop should surrender the manuscript, but the reply was the same as in the first instance. In 1896 the then Bishop of London relented, and Bradford's manuscript was given up without an act of Parliament. It was received in Boston with high honour and much joy on the part of learned men and was placed in the State Library, a chief ornament of the archives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In 1912 it was published in a final and authoritative form by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The History of Plymouth Plantation is a Puritan book in the best sense. Its author was a man of intelligence, whose moderate educational opportunities had been supplemented by earnest and industrious private studies. He knew the Latin, Greek, and Dutch languages, and in his old age taught himself Hebrew so that he might read the oracles of God in the form in which they originally appeared. His *History* is loosely annalistic, but a direct and simple style gives charm, as a sincere faith in Puritanism gives purity, to the entire book. He who would understand the spirit of old Plymouth would do well to read Bradford through.

What Bradford's *History* is to Plymouth, John Winthrop's journal is to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The author, more than any other man, was the founder of the colony. He was an earnest Puritan, a supporter of the ideas of Hampden and Pym, and by natural ability he was a leader of men. He left Cambridge before graduation, married at seventeen, became a justice of the peace at eighteen, and was soon a man of note in his shire, Suffolk, where he was lord of the manor of Groton. In 1630 he gave up all this, as well as a lucrative position as attorney in the Court of Wards, and threw in his lot with the men who were to settle Massachusetts. He was the colony's first governor, and through annual re-elections served it for twelve years, finally dying in office in 1649. Rev. John Cotton described him as

> a governour . . . who has been to us as a brother, not usurping authority over the church; often speaking his advice, and often contradicted, even by young men, and some of low degree; yet not replying, but offering satisfaction also when any supposed offences have arisen; a governour who has been to us as a mother, parent-like distributing his goods to bretheren and neighbours at his first coming; and gently bearing our infirmities without taking notice of them.

The life of John Winthrop was worthy of this tribute in all respects.

Introspection was a Puritan trait, and the first governor at Boston had his share. Early in life he kept a little diary which he called *Experiencia*, a record of very deep spirituality. His letters show that he thought God directed his love and marriage. It was in the spring of 1630 that he embarked for Massachusetts, and while aboard ship, "riding at the Cowes, near the Isle of Wight," on Easter Monday, he began a journal which he kept faithfully until a few months before his death. It is filled with colony affairs, but its title, *A History of New England*, is misleading. It says little about any other colony than that over which the writer ruled, and the form is not that of history proper. Yet it is a valuable record of the life of the time, and presents good expositions of most of the problems of the early colony. While it is not written in so interesting a style as Bradford's book, it is in a fair diary manner, rarely becoming tedious to a reader who has the taste for the fine points of a contemporary document. It is Puritan in a liberal sense. Some New England writers can never forget their peculiar type of religion; but Winthrop discusses business matters like a man of business and public affairs like a man accustomed to weigh the fortunes of state in an even scale.

Like the early Virginia historians, Bradford and Winthrop were English-bred. Their culture was English and it was superior to that which the succeeding generation, born in America, could be expected to have. Two historians, however, Captain Edward Johnson and Nathaniel Morton, stand between them and the historians who are of purely American birth and training. Both were born in England, but they arrived in Massachusetts at such an early age that they were colony-trained to all intents and purposes.

Johnson was a man of strong natural traits, self-made, and representing the middle class in colonial society. He was a ship-wright by trade, and showed ability in leadership. He was the chief founder of the town of Woburn and its representative in the General Court. He gave loyal allegiance to the ministers, and was dazzled by their piety and learning. Puritanism offered him complete satisfaction, and he willingly accepted its dogmas. "You are not set up for tolerating times!" he exclaimed in the face of certain signs that the hold of the system was weakening. To preserve the influence of the early doctrines he wrote *Wonder-Working Providences of Zion's Saviour in New England*, published in 1654. We read it to-day to learn to what degrees of credulity the early New Englanders went in their acceptance of the power of the supernatural over human affairs. To the author and his contemporaries the book was plain history, a record of the actualities of life. The chief merit of the *Providences* for those who rightly value a human document is that it is a picture of early Puritan life as seen by an average man. Winthrop and Bradford lived at the centre of things. The problems of governors and assemblies concerned them. Johnson was interested in the planting of churches, the life of the towns, and the affairs of ordinary people, and it has been well said that while he "shows little precision in anything but his creed; yet his book is one of the most curious that an inquirer into the manners and institutions of our fathers can peruse."[1]

Nathaniel Morton was a trusted nephew of Governor Bradford and became secretary of the Plymouth colony. Possessed of fair ability, he was long a man of note and a preserver of Plymouth tradition. In 1669 he published, as we have seen, *New England's Memorial*, a history of the colony. For the early years he drew directly on his uncle's book, transcribing large portions of it. Until the discovery of the Fulham manuscript, Morton's book was the best source for Bradford's text. The part which was concerned with the years following Bradford was written by Morton himself, and is meagre and disappointing, but Johnson and he were long the standard historians for the average New Englander. They may be considered the last of the early group, and in their manner and purposes they looked forward to the second group, men who were either born in America or who arrived after the American ideals were well enough formed to master the newcomers.

The second group, then, was American in a sense unknown to the first group. Its subjects were events rooted in American life, and save as American government and conditions were dependent on relations with the mother country, this phase of history had no relation to England. It opened, naturally, with treatments of the most striking incidents of the day, Indian wars and internal disorders. Here were struggles calling for the best efforts of the settlers, struggles in which horrors and signal victories had followed one another in dramatic swiftness. Historians arose to write about them with marked ability; and their books were read far and wide. Then a generation followed during which the colonies grew in wealth and refinement. A leisure class was developed, the struggles of the assemblies against the king's prerogative gradually caused the formation of colony parties with colony ideals and aspirations, and in due time men appeared who undertook to tell the stories of colony development. These men belong to the later colonial period. In reflection and the power of dealing with materials, they are superior to the mere depicters of episodes. If their works are less readable, it must be remembered that their tasks are more difficult. It is easier to describe the Deerfield raid and the fate of the captured inhabitants than to trace the development of a political unit.

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[1] Winthrop, *History of New England*, ed. Savage, vol. 1, p. 100 n.

New England did not have the only Indian wars in America, but she alone had worthy historians of them. The struggles of 1622 and 1642 in Virginia, the Tuscarora War in North Carolina, and the Yemassee War in South Carolina, to say nothing of the wars of the Iroquois in New York, were as worthy of historical description as the struggle known as King Philip's War in New England, but they found no pen to describe them for the contemporary public. Bacon's rebellion in Virginia was well narrated for posterity, but the narratives long remained in manuscript; and the important struggles between South Carolina and Georgia on the one side and Spanish Florida on the other have not to this day been made the subjects of adequate treatment in a readable form.

In New England, on the other hand, historical effort for popular information was fairly abundant. Seven men appeared to describe the horrors of savage warfare, filling their pages with thrilling stories which the public read with eagerness. The first was Captain John Mason, whose *History of the Pequot War*, based upon his own experience, was published in 1677. It is written in cold-blooded indifference to the feelings of compassion, and we shiver today at the vengeance of the whites; but it raised no qualms in the men of the seventeenth century, who were brought up on sterner ideas. In the same year was published the Rev. William Hubbard's *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians of New England*. Like the author's *History of New England*, it abounds in errors, but it was widely read. It appeared as Philip's War was drawing to a close, at a time when the people were especially excited against the savages. It had a worthy companion in Benjamin Church's *Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War*, published in 1716, a powerful book by one who took a leading part in the struggle he describes. Another work that was widely read was Samuel Penhallow's *Wars of New England with the Eastern Indians*, 1726. The author was chief justice of New Hampshire.

With 1690, when the French and Indian wars began, a new kind of warfare fell on the colonies. Bands of Indians, sometimes accompanied by Frenchmen, came out of Canada, destroyed isolated settlements, and escaped to the north with large trains of captives. The victims suffered much from the strenuous marches of their captors, and from actual cruelty. Most of them were redeemed after years of exile, and they returned with thrilling stories in their mouths. Here was a new field for the historian, and it was well worked.[1]

A distinct place must be reserved for Daniel Gookin, a Virginia Puritan who moved to Massachusetts to escape the persecutions of Governor Berkeley. He was made superintendent of Indians in his new home and showed a humane and intelligent interest in the natives that entitles him to rank with John Eliot. The retaliation of the whites in Philip's War grieved him sorely, but the tide of wrath was so strong that his protests only made him unpopular. He wrote two books on the Indians, *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England*, written in 1674 (published 1792), and *The Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians*, completed in 1677 (published 1836). Gookin also wrote a *History of New England* which remained in manuscript and was unhappily destroyed without having been published. The author was a man of great breadth of mind and not deeply touched by the narrow ecclesiasticism of the day. He was also in a position to know about the public events of his time. His history of New England, had it been published, must have given us an important view of the subject.

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[1] See also Book I, Chap. I.

Another historian of the Indians was Dr. Cadwallader Colden, a man of learning and high position in Philadelphia and New York. He settled in New York in 1710, where he enjoyed the confidence of the authorities and was promoted to important offices. He had a deep interest in the superior organization of the Iroquois and wrote about them in his *History of the Five Indian Nations* (1727–47). Through great industry he collected a large amount of valuable information about these Indians, and the book is still a mine of facts, although the research of later times has rendered many of its statements unsatisfactory. In this connection mention should be made of John Lawson's *History of North Carolina*, published first as *New Voyage to Carolina* in 1709. It was written by a man of excellent sense who had opportunity to know the Indians and natural resources of North Carolina, but it contains little about civil affairs. Lawson was English born and bred, and lived only a few years after his arrival, but he had a right to the name "American," since he gave his life to the service of the colony. He was murdered by the Indians in 1711.

It seems certain that most of the books on the Indians were written in answer to a popular demand. The same could not be said of the political histories, which began to appear in the first half of the eighteenth century. The impulse behind such works is perhaps best stated in the words of Stith, of Virginia, who said that he began to write his history as "a noble and elegant entertainment for my vacant hours, which it is not in my power to employ more to my own satisfaction, or the use and benefit of my country." Few of the historians of this class had a large number of readers. Two wrote about Virginia, Robert Beverley and the Rev. William Stith. The former was a wealthy planter who saw while in London a poor account of the colony by the British historian and pamphleteer, John Oldmixon, and undertook to write a better. His book, *A History of Virginia* (1705), was hastily prepared without any study of documents or other respectable sources. Its chief value lies in the shrewd and just observations the author made on Virginia life and history out of his own knowledge. Stith was connected with prominent persons in the colony and had been president of William and Mary College. His *History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia* was published in 1747. The volume brought the story of the colony down to the fall of the London Company, 1624. It was accurate and based on the records of the Company, and is one the most modern of our colonial histories in its method. But Stith had no sense of proportion. His book was so full of details that his subscribers found it unreadable and failed to continue their support. No second part was published.

For the middle colonies we have two histories still remembered by posterity, a *History of New York* (1757), by William Smith and a *History of New Jersey* (1765) by Samuel Smith. The author of the former was a high official in New York and had much ability. He was a tory, and the unpopularity he acquired on that account was shared by his book. Unable to read Dutch, he had an inadequate idea of the early history of the colony; but for the English period the book has maintained an honourable position to this day. It is well written and, making due allowances, it is equal to the standard of historical literature in England before Hume. Samuel Smith was an industrious and conscientious Quaker, and his history was written from the point of view of the middle class of society. It is still regarded as reliable but the style is heavy.

In New England during this period political history did not engage the attention of historians as much as Indian history. Besides Gookin, whose unpublished history has been mentioned, three men deserve notice. One was the already noticed Rev. William Hubbard, whose *General History of New England* did not find a publisher until 1815. The earlier part is taken with the slightest amount of change from Morton's *Memorial* and Winthrop's journal. After these two sources are exhausted the book becomes meagre and inaccurate.

A much better writer was the Rev. Thomas Prince, of Boston, whom we have encountered in connection with Bradford's manuscript. The preservation of documents and rare pamphlets was to him a labour of love, and by industry he collected a large library of valuable materials. Many of the books are now preserved in the Boston Public Library. Prince's devotion to history is recognized in the name of the Prince Society, of Boston, one of the most honoured of American historical organizations. The result of his efforts at writing history was a *Chronological History of New England, in the Form of Annals*, the first volume of which appeared in 1736. It began with the creation of man on the sixth day and proceeded rapidly to the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. Then it moved with great detail through the events of the succeeding decade, until a hint from the publisher that the book was becoming too large brought it to an end with 7 September, 1630. The poor sale of the volume discouraged the author, who did not resume his work until 1755. He then began a continuation in serial parts at sixpence each; but the sale was so small that he gave up the project after three numbers had been issued.

Prince's work is a delight to the genealogist and the antiquarian, for precision marks every step he took.

> "I cite my vouchers to every passage," he said, "and I have done my utmost, first to find out the truth, and then to relate it in the clearest order. I have laboured after accuracy; and yet I dare not say that I am without mistake; nor do I desire the reader to conceal any he may possibly find."

No modern scientific historian could speak better. If Prince lacked literary ability, the want was made up in his strict sense of accuracy; and we should remember that it is rare that the world has a man who is endowed with both characteristics.

Both Hubbard and Prince were ministers and wrote with a full sense of the importance of the churches in the New England life. Their outlook was biased, although not intentionally so. From them we turn at the very close of the colonial period to a New England historian as free from this influence as Colden or William Smith. Thomas Hutchinson was descended from Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, who was exiled from Massachusetts in 1638 because she defied the Puritan hierarchy, and he was quite free from religious narrowness. Born in 1711, he graduated from Harvard in 1727 and began a prosperous career as a merchant. He won the confidence of the Boston people, who sent him to the assembly, where he distinguished himself by opposing the issue of paper money. He was for a long time the most popular man in the colony, and he was promoted from one high office to another, becoming lieutenant-governor in 1758, chief justice in 1760, acting governor in 1769, and governor in 1771.

Hutchinson loved Massachusetts, but he was intellectually a conservative, and he did not accept the theory on which the colonists rested their resistance to the king and Parliament. He wished to preserve the Empire undivided, and hoped that some plan might be found by which America might have home rule without renouncing the name British. He was opposed in principle to the Stamp Act, but disapproved of the violence with which it was received. A Boston mob, angered by false reports against him, wrecked his house, destroyed his furniture, and scattered his books and papers through the streets. The assembly paid him for the property loss, but he never recovered the good will of Boston. He tried to reconcile king and colony, but neither was in a mood to be reconciled. Early in 1774 he went to England, giving place to General Gage. He was well received, and the king allowed him a handsome pension, while Oxford conferred upon him the degree of *Doctor Civilis Juris*. But as the months passed and the war became inevitable, Hutchinson's pleas for peace made him unpopular. King, ministers, and society generally were for punishing the disobedient colonies. The protests of the exiled governor became weaker and weaker, and he finally retired from public notice. With his family he led an unhappy existence in London until his death in 1780.

In the eighteenth century history was an honored branch of literature. Hume, who published his great history between 1754 and 1761, was made independent by the sales, while Robertson, who was just coming into his fame, found himself both flattered and wealthy. History had not yet fallen into the hands of those who were to reduce it to a dull statement of facts which nobody reads except those who wish to incorporate them in other statements of fact. Nor had the world yet been submerged by the modern deluge of imaginative literature. It was in 1764, while Hume and Robertson were at the height of their freshly won fame, that Hutchinson published the first volume of his *History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*. The second was in preparation when the Stamp Act mob destroyed the house of the author. Among the debris recovered from the streets was the soiled manuscript of this volume. It was completed and published in 1767. The third volume was not written until the governor had taken up his residence in London, and it was not published until 1828. Hutchinson's *History* is not faultless. He was bitterly denounced by Otis and Samuel Adams, and he did not show an ability to appreciate them. He left untouched some important phases of Massachusetts history, and was indifferent to social and industrial changes. In spite of these faults, for which excuses can be made, he was the best American historian of his time. He treated narrative history in a philosophical manner and wrote simple and natural sentences whose charm endures to this day. After he left our shore many a year passed before we had a historian who could equal him in the power to understand and narrate the story of American political life.

CHAPTER III

The Puritan Divines, 1620-1720

NEW ENGLAND Puritanism—like the greater movement of which it was so characteristic an offshoot—is one of the fascinating puzzles in the history of the English people. It phrased its aspirations in so strange a dialect, and interpreted its programme in such esoteric terms, that it appears almost like an alien episode in the records of a practical race. No other phase of Anglo-Saxon civilization seems so singularly remote from every-day reality, so little leavened by natural human impulses and promptings. Certain generations of Englishmen, seemingly for no sufficient reason, yielded their intellects to a rigid system of dogmatic theology, and surrendered their freedom to the letter of the Hebrew Scriptures; and in endeavouring to conform their institutions as well as their daily actions to self-imposed authorities, they produced a social order that fills with amazement other generations of Englishmen who have broken with that order. Strange, perverted, scarce intelligible beings those old Puritans seem to us—mere crabbed theologians disputing endlessly over Calvinistic dogma, or chilling the marrow of honest men and women with their tales of hell-fire. And we should be inclined to dismiss them as curious eccentricities were it not for the amazing fact that those old preachers were not mere accidents or by-products, but the very heart and passion of the times. If they were listened to gladly, it was because they uttered what many were thinking; if they were followed through tribulation and sacrifice by multitudes, it was because the way which they pointed out seemed to the best intelligence of their hearers the divinely approved path, which, if faithfully followed, must lead society out of the present welter of sin and misery and misrule into a nobler state. For the moment religion and statecraft were merged in the thought of Englishmen; and it was because the Puritan ministers were statesmen as well as theologians—the political quite as much as the religious leaders—that the difficult task of social guidance rested for those generations with the divines. How they conducted themselves in that serious business, what account they rendered of their stewardship, becomes therefore a question which the historian may not neglect.

It was to set up a Kingdom of God on earth that the Puritan leaders came to America; and the phrase should enlighten us concerning their deeper purpose. But no sooner was their work well under way than the conception of a kingdom of God tended to merge in the newer conception of a commonwealth of Christ, and this in turn found itself confronted by the still newer conception of a commonwealth of free citizens; and it is the painful wrestling with these changing ideals, with all that was implied in each to the several classes and institutions of society, that gives historical significance to the crabbed writings of the New England divines. As political thinkers they inherited a wealth of political speculation, accumulated during more than a hundred years of extraordinary intellectual activity; and if we would understand the matter as well as the manner of their disputations, we must put ourselves to the trouble of translating the obsolete phraseology into modern equivalents, and conceive of Puritanism as the expression of current English radicalism. It was the English beginning of the great modern social readjustment which goes under the name of the democratic revolution; and its total history, covering a long period of a hundred and forty years, constitutes a noble chapter in the struggle for human freedom. If the evolution of modern society falls into two broad phases, the disintegration of the old caste society into free citizens, and the regrouping of the free citizens into a new social democracy, the significance of Puritanism becomes clear—it was a disruptive force that served to destroy the cohesion of the ancient caste solidarity resolving society into its individual members. It was the rebellion of the many against the overlordship of the few; a rebellion that proposed to coerce the freedom of men by the law of God alone; a challenge of existing institutions and regnant philosophies, which if successful could not fail to bring about profound social changes.

Necessarily, therefore, the Puritan reformation was allied with political reformation, and the period of ecclesiastical reorganization was equally a period of political reorganization. Modern political parties were thrown up out of the ferment of religious dispute, and the inevitable cleavages of Puritan thought were determined broadly by the cleavages of political thought. The three parties in the ecclesiastical field, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Independent, reflected the current political ideals of tory, whig, and democrat. The first was monarchical in principle, the ecclesiastical expression of tory absolutism. It gathered to its support the hereditary masters of society, who held that there should be one authoritative church, to which every subject of the crown must belong, to the support of which all must contribute, and in the governance of which only the appointed hierarchy should share. The second party was aristocratic in principle, the expression of the rising ideal of whiggery, or government by property through the instrumentality of landed gentlemen. Country squires and prosperous London citizens desired a church system which they could control, and this system they discovered in Presbyterianism, newly brought over from Geneva, which gave the control of the parish to the eldership, composed of responsible gentlemen who should serve as trustees for the good of the whole. The third party was more or less consciously democratic in principle, the expression of the newly awakened aspirations of the social underling. The poor man wanted to be ruled neither by bishops nor by gentlemen, but preferred to club with the like-minded of his own class, and set up an independent church along democratic lines. That was the true Christian church, he believed, which withdrew from all communion with sinners and established a "Congregation of the Saints"; and so he called himself a Separatist. But whatever name he might call himself by, he was at bottom a democrat who demanded the right of self-government in the church, and who, when times were ripe, would assuredly assert the greater right of self-government in the state.

Broadly speaking, the Anglicans kept the situation pretty well in hand up to the accession of Charles I. During the long disputes between Charles and the Parliament, the rising party of Presbyterians was organizing its forces to break the rule of the bishops, and the early years of Parliamentary sovereignty marked the culmination of the middle period, dominated by the Presbyterian ideal. But no sooner was the ruthless hand of tory absolutism struck down than the long gathering forces of social discontent came to a head and broke with the moderate party of Presbyterian reformers; whereupon there followed the real Puritan revolution which had been preparing since the days of Wyclif. The Separatists seized control of Parliament and set about the work of erecting a government that should be a commonwealth of free citizens; the voice of the democratic underling, for the first time in English history, was listened to in the national councils, and the army of the democrat stood ready to enforce his demands with the sword. But unfortunately the strong wine went to the head; unbalanced schismatics endeavoured to set up impossible Utopias; zeal outran wisdom; and the Puritan movement broke at last into a thousand sects and went to pieces. But not before its real work was done; not before the political principles, which hitherto had been obscurely entangled in theological disputation, were set free and held up to the view of Englishmen; not before the new democratic philosophy had clarified its fundamental principle, namely, that the individual both as Christian and citizen derives from nature certain inalienable rights which every church and every government is bound to respect.

It was during the decade of the thirties, at the moment when Presbyterianism was in the ascendancy, that the Puritan migration to New England took place; and the leaders of that notable movement were effectively Presbyterian in sympathies and policies. Possessed of ample means and of good social position, they were liberals rather than radicals, and they shared the common Presbyterian hope of capturing the ecclesiastical establishment as a whole instead of separating from it. But they had been preceded to America by the Plymouth congregation, a body of low-born Separatists, who had set up a church upon frankly democratic principles. In an unfortunate moment for Presbyterianism, the pioneer church at Salem came under the influence of the Plymouth example, and the following year, when the main body of Puritans came over with Winthrop, they fell in with the Salem example and set up the new churches on the Congregational principle, as seeming to provide the most suitable form for the development of a theocracy. The inconsistency of an arrangement by which an aristocratic leadership accepted a democratic church organization was obscured for the moment by the unanimity of ministers and congregation; but it was clearly perceived by the Presbyterians of the old country, and it was to prove the source of much contention in later years.

Out of this fundamental inconsistency sprang a large part of the literature with which we are concerned in the present chapter. The ministers, as the spokesmen of New England, soon found themselves embroiled in controversy. During the first ten years or more the controversy lay between New England and old England Puritans, and the burden upon the former was to prove to the satisfaction of English Presbyterianism that the "Congregational way" was not democratic Separatism, with its low stigma of Brownism, but aristocratic Presbyterianism. During the later years, when Presbyterianism had been definitely overthrown in England, the controversy lay between the theocratic hierarchy—which after the year 1637 was the dominant power—and the dissenting democracy; the former seeking to Presbyterianize the church away from its primitive Congregationalism, the latter seeking to maintain the purity of the Plymouth ideal. In dealing with the several ministers, therefore, we shall divide them into the emigrant generation and the native generations, and set the aristocratic Presbyterians over against the democratic Congregationalists, endeavouring to understand the chief points at issue between them.

The most authoritative representative of the ideals of the middle period of Puritanism—its aristocratic conservatism in the guise of theocratic polities—was the celebrated John Cotton, first Teacher to the church at Boston. Of good family and sound university training, he was both a notable theologian and a courteous gentleman. "Twelve hours in a day he commonly studied, and would call that a scholar's day," his grandson reported of him; and his learned eloquence was universally admired by a generation devoted to solid argumentative discourse. When he ascended the pulpit on Sundays and lecture days, he carried thither not only the wisdom of his beloved master Calvin but the whole Puritan theology to buttress his theses. Good men were drawn to him irresistibly by his sweetness of temper, and evil men were overawed by his venerable aspect. For all his severe learning he was a lovable man, with white hair framing a face that must have been nobly chiselled, gentle-voiced, courteous, tactful, by nature "a tolerant man," than whom none "did more placidly bear a dissentient," or more gladly discover a friend in an antagonist. If his tactful bending before opposition, or his fondness for intellectual subtleties, drew from his grandson the appellation "a most excellent casuist," we must not therefore conclude that he served the cause of truth less devotedly than the cause of party.

For in his mildly persistent way John Cotton was a revolutionist. A noble ideal haunted his thought, as Utopian as any in the long roll of Utopian dreams—the ideal of a Christian theocracy which should supersede the unchristian government which Englishmen had lived under hitherto. A devout scripturist, he accepted the Hebrew Bible as the final word of God, not to be played fast and loose with but to be received as a rule of universal application, perfect to the last word and least injunction. The sufficiency of the Scriptures to social needs was an axiom in his philosophy; "the more any law smells of man the more unprofitable," he asserted in his proposed draft of laws; and at another time he exclaimed, "*Scripturae plenitudinem adoro.*" He chose exile and the leaving of his beautiful English church rather than yield to what he regarded as the unscriptural practices of Laud, and now that he was come to a new land where a fresh beginning was to be made, was it not his Christian duty to "endeavour after a *theocracy*, as near as might be, to that which was the glory of Israel, the 'peculiar people'"? The old common law must be superseded by the Mosaic dispensation, the priest must be set above the magistrate, the citizen of the commonwealth must become the subject of Jehovah, the sovereignty of the state must yield to the sovereignty of God.

It was a frankly aristocratic world in which John Cotton was bred, and if he disliked the plebeian ways of the Plymouth democracy equally with the Brownist tendencies of Plymouth Congregationalism, it was because they smacked too much of popular sovereignty to please him. And when he found himself confronted by signs of democratic unrest in Boston his course of action seemed to him clear. The desire for liberty he regarded as the sinful prompting of the natural man, a godless denial of the righteous authority of the divinely appointed rulers. If democracy were indeed a Christian form of government, was it not strange that divine wisdom should have overlooked so significant a fact? In all the history of the chosen people nowhere did God designate the democratic as the perfect type, but the theocratic; was He now to be set right by sinful men who courted popularity by stirring the dirt in the bottom of depraved hearts? To a scripturist the logic of his argument was convincing:

> It is better that the commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth of God's house, which is his church: than to accomodate the church frame to the civill state. Democracy, I do not conceyve that ever God did ordeyne as a fit government eyther for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed? As for monarchy, and aristocracy, they are both of them clearely approoved, and directed in scripture, yet so as referreth the soveraigntie to himselfe, and setteth up Theocracy in both, as the best forme of government in the commonwealth, as well as in the church.[1]

Holding to such views, the duty devolving upon him was plain—to check in every way the drift towards a more democratic organization, and to prove to old-world critics that the evil reports of the growing Brownism in New England, which were spreading among the English Presbyterians, were without foundation. The first he sought to accomplish by the strengthening of the theocratic principle in practice, busying himself in a thousand practical ways to induce the people to accept the patriarchal rulership of the ministers and elders, in accordance with the "law of Moses, his Judicials"; the second he sought to accomplish by proving, under sound scriptural authority, the orthodoxy of the New England way. His chief effort in this latter field was his celebrated work, *The Way of the Con-*

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[1] Letter to Lord Say and Sele, Hutchinson, *Hist. of Mass. Bay Colony*, vol. I, p. 497.

gregational Churches Cleared; a treatise crammed, in the opinion of an admirer, with "most practical Soul-searching, Soul-saving, and Soul-solacing Divinitie," "not Magisterially laid down, but friendly debated by Scripture, and argumentatively disputed out to the utmost inch of ground." The partisan purpose of the book was to prove that Congregationalism, as practised in New England, was nearer akin to aristocratic Presbyterianism than to democratic Brownism; and of this purpose he speaks frankly:

> Neither is it the Scope of my whole Book, to give the people a share in the Government of the Church. . . . Nay further, there be that blame the Book for the other Extreme, That it placeth the Government of the Church not at all in the hands of the People, but of the Presbyterie.[1]

Out of this same theocratic root sprang the well-known dispute with Roger Williams concerning toleration. Not freedom to follow the ways of sin, but freedom to follow the law of God—this was Cotton's restriction upon the "natural liberties" of the subject of Jehovah. There must be freedom of conscience if it be under no error, but not otherwise; for if freedom be permitted to all sinful errors, how shall the will of God prevail on earth? In this matter of toleration of conscience, it is clear enough today that the eyes of the great theocrat, "so *piercing* and *heavenly* (in other and precious Truths of God)"—as Roger Williams acknowledged—were for the moment sadly "over-clouded and bloud-shotten." But for this the age rather than the man was to blame. It was no fault of John Cotton's that he was the product of a generation still resting under the shadow of absolutism, unable to comprehend the more democratic philosophy of the generation of Roger Williams. He reasoned according to his light; and if he was convinced that the light which shone to him was a divine torch, he proved himself thereby a sound Puritan if not a good Christian.

The native sweetness and humanity of Cotton's character, despite his rigid theocratic principles, comes out pleasantly when the great preacher is set over against the caustic lawyer-minister and wit, Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, author of the strange little book, *The Simple Cobbler of Aggawam*, and chief compiler of the celebrated *Body of Liberties*. Born nearly two-score years before Roger Williams, he was well advanced in his sixties when he set foot in the new world, and upwards of seventy when he wrote the *Simple Cobbler*. More completely than any of his emigrant brethren he belonged to the late Renaissance world, which lingered on into the reigns of James and Charles, zealously cultivating its quaint garden of letters, coddling its odd phrases, and caring more for clever conceits than for solid thought. Faithful disciple of Calvin though he was, there was in him a rich sap of mind, which, fermented by long observation and much travel, made him the raciest of wits, and doubtless the most delightful of companions over a respectable Puritan bottle. "I have only Two Comforts to Live upon," Increase Mather reported him as saying; "The one is in the Perfections of Christ; The other is in The Imperfections of all Christians."

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[1] Part II, p. 15.

It is the caustic criticism of female fashions, and the sharp attack upon all tolerationists who would "hang God's Bible at the Devil's girdle," that have caught the attention of later readers of the *Simple Cobbler;* but it was as a "subtile statesman" that Ward impressed himself upon his own generation, and it is certainly the political philosophy which gives significance to his brilliant essay. Trained in the law before he forsook it for the ministry, he had thought seriously upon political questions, and his conclusions hit to a nicety the principles which the moderate Presbyterians in Parliament were developing to offset the Stuart encroachments. The insufficiency of the old checks and balances to withstand the stress of partisanship was daily becoming more evident as the struggle went forward. There must be an overhauling of the fundamental law; the neutral zones must be charted and the several rights and privileges exactly delimited. What was needed was a written constitution. Hitherto God "hath taken order, that ill Prerogatives, gotten by the Sword, should in time be fetcht home by the Dagger, if nothing else will doe it: Yet I trust there is both day and means to intervent this bargaine." To preserve a just balance between rival interests, and to bring all parties to a realization of their responsibility to God, were the difficult problems with which Ward's crotchety lucubrations mainly concern themselves.

> Authority must have power to make and keep people honest; People, honesty to obey Authority; both, a joynt-Councell to keep both safe. Moral Lawes, Royall Prerogatives, Popular Liberties, are not of Mans making or giving, but Gods: Man is but to measure them out by Gods Rule: which if mans wisdome cannot reach, Mans experience must mend: And these Essentials, must not be Ephorized or Tribuned by one or a few Mens discretion, but lineally sanctioned by Supreame Councels. In *pro-re-nascent* occurrences, which cannot be foreseen; Diets, Parliaments, Senates, or accountable Commissions, must have power to consult and execute against intersilient dangers and flagitious crimes prohibited by the light of Nature: Yet it were good if States would let People know so much beforehand, by some safe woven *manifesto*, that grosse Delinquents may tell no tales of Anchors and Buoyes, nor palliate their presumptions with pretense of ignorance. I know no difference in these Essentials, between Monarchies, Aristocracies, or Democracies. . . .
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> He is a good King that undoes not his Subjects by any one of his unlimited Prerogatives: and they are a good People, that undoe not their Prince, by any one of their unbounded Liberties, be they the very least. I am sure either may, and I am sure neither would be trusted, how good soever. Stories tell us in effect, though not in termes, that over-risen Kings, have been the next evills to the world, unto fallen Angels; and that over-franchised people, are devills with smooth snaffles in their mouthes . . . I have a long while thought it very possible, in a time of Peace . . . for disert Statesmen, to cut an exquisite thred between Kings Prerogatives, and Subjects Liberties of all sorts, so as *Caesar* might have his due and People their share, without such sharpe disputes. Good Casuists would case it, and case it, part it, and part it; now it, and then it, punctually.

Nathaniel Ward was no democrat and therefore no Congregationalist. "For Church work, I am neither Presbyterian, nor plebsbyterian, but an Interpendent," he said of himself. But his Interpendency was only an individualistic twist of Presbyterianism. For the new radicals who were rising out of the turmoil of revolution, he had only contempt; and for their new-fangled notion of toleration, and talk of popular liberties, he felt the righteous indignation of the conservative who desires no altering of the fundamental arrangements of society. Only the Word of God could justify change; and so when he was commissioned to write a body of liberties for the new commonwealth, he presented as harsh and rigid a code as the sternest theocrat could have wished, a strange compound of the brutalities of the old common law and the severities of the Mosaic rule. He was too old a man to fit into the new ways—a fact which he recognized by returning to England to die, leaving behind him as a warning to Congregationalism the pithy quatrain:

The upper world shall Rule,
  While Stars will run their race:
The nether world obey,
  While People keep their place.

The more one reads in the literature of early New England the more one feels oneself in the company of men who were led by visions, and fed upon Utopian dreams. It was a day and a world of idealists, and of this number was John Eliot, saintly apostle to the Indians, who, in the midst of his missionary dreams and the arduous labours of supplying the bread of life to his native converts, found time to fashion his brick for the erection of that temple which the Puritans of the Protectorate were dreaming of. The idols had been broken under the hammer of Cromwell; the malevolent powers that so long had held sway at last were brought low; it remained now only for the people of God to enter into a solemn covenant to establish a commonwealth after the true divine model. That no mistake should be made in so important a matter, John Eliot sent out of the American wilderness the plan of a Christian Utopia, sanctioned by Mosaic example and buttressed at every point by chapter and verse, which he urged upon the people of England as a suitable guide to their feet.

Naked theocracy is nowhere more uncompromisingly delineated than in the pages of *The Christian Commonwealth*. At the base of Eliot's political thinking were the two germinal conceptions which animated his theocratic brethren generally: the conception that Christ is King of Kings, before whom all earthly authority must bow, and the conception that the

Scriptures alone contain the law of God. "There is undoubtedly a forme of civil Government instituted by God himself in the holy Scriptures. . . . We should derogate from the sufficiency and perfection of the Scriptures, if we should deny it." From these main premises he deduced a system that is altogether remarkable for its thorough-going simplicity. Since the law has been declared once for all, perfect and complete, there is no need for a legislative branch of government; and since Christ is the sole overlord and king, there is no need for an earthly head of the state; it remains only to provide a competent magisterial system to hear causes and adjudicate differences. Society is concerned wholly with duties and not at all with rights; government therefore begins and ends with the magistrate. In order to secure an adequate magistracy, Eliot proposed to divide society into groups of tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands, each of which should choose its rulers, who in turn should choose their representatives in the higher councils; and so there was evolved an ascending series of magistrates until the supreme council of the nation was reached, the decisions of which should be final.

> The duties of all the Rulers of the civil part of the Kingdom of Christ, are as followeth . . . to govern the people in the orderly and seasonable practice of all the Commanders of God, in actions liable to Political observations, whether of piety and love to God, or of justice, and love to man with peace.

Far removed as *The Christian Commonwealth* was from the saner thought of the Army democrats, it is the logical culmination of all theocratic dreams. The ideal of social unity, of relentless conformity, according to which the rebel is a social outlaw to be silenced at any cost, dominates this Christian Utopia as mercilessly as it dominated the policy of Laud. In setting up King Jesus for King Charles, there was to be no easing of the yoke upon the rebellious spirit; and in binding society upon the letter of the Scripture there was to be no room for the democratic aspirations of the leveller. Curious as this little work is—testifying rather to the sincerity of Eliot's Hebraism than to his political intelligence or to his knowledge of men—it is characteristic of the man who consecrated his life to the dream of an Indian mission. How little disturbed he was by the perversities and limitations of facts, is revealed anew in the polity which he laid down for his Indian converts:

> And this VOW I did solemnly make unto the Lord concerning them; that they being a people without any forme of Government, and now to chuse; I would endeavour with all my might, to bring them to embrace such Government, both civil and Ecclesiastical, as the Lord hath commanded in the holy Scriptures; and to deduce all their Lawes from the holy Scriptures, that so they may be the Lord's people, ruled by him alone in all things.

Which vow, considering the state of the Indian tribes to whom it was to apply, may serve to throw light upon the causes of the scant success of the Saints in dealing with the Indians.

Despite the logic of the theocrats, unanimity of opinion among the Saints was sadly lacking; and the peace of the new Canaan was troubled and the patience of the leaders sorely tried by pious malcontents, who were not content that God should rule through John Cotton, but themselves desired to be the Lord's vicegerents. The democrats were constantly prodding the ruling coterie of gentlemen; and the democratic conception of a commonwealth of free citizens intruded more and more upon the earlier conception of a kingdom of God. Capable leaders of the new radicalism were not lacking; and if we would comprehend the dissension and heart-burnings of those early times, we must set the figures of Roger Williams and Thomas Hooker over against John Cotton and the theocrats.

Roger Williams, advocate of toleration, was the most tempestuous soul thrown upon the American shores by the revolution then griping England, the embodiment and spokesman of the new radical hopes. He was an arch-rebel in a rebellious generation, the intellectual barometer of a world of stormy speculation and great endeavour. A generation younger than the Boston leaders, he came to maturity at the beginning of the wave of radicalism that was to sweep England into civil war. Older ties of class and custom he put aside easily, to make room for the new theories then agitating young Englishmen; and these new theories he advocated with an importunity disconcerting to practical men more given to weighing times and occasions. The kernel of his radicalism was the ideal of a democratic church in a democratic society. The more closely we scrutinize the thought of the great Separatist, the more clearly we perceive that the master principle of his career was Christian—the desire to embody in his life the social as well as the spiritual teachings of Christ. He put aside tradition and went back to the foundation and original of the gospel, discovering anew the profoundly revolutionary conceptions that underlie the philosophy of Jesus. He learned to conceive of men literally as the children of God and brothers in Christ, and out of this primary conception he developed his democratic philosophy. It was to set up no Hebraic absolutism that he came to America; it was to establish a free commonwealth of Christ in which the lowest and meanest of God's children should share equally with the greatest. But before there could be a free commonwealth there must be free churches; the hand of neither bishop nor presbytery must lie upon the conscience of the individual Christian; and so Roger Williams threw himself into the work of spreading the propaganda of Separatism. Not only did he protest in New England against the tyranny of the magistrates, but he flung at the heads of all enemies of freedom the notable book on toleration in which he struck at the root of the matter by arguing that "conscience be permitted (though erroneous) to be free."

In an earlier age he would have become a disciple of St. Francis; but in the days when the religious movement was passing over into a political movement, when it was being talked openly that both in church and state "the Originall of all free Power and Government" lies in the people, he threw in his lot with the levellers to further the democratic movement. As early as 1644 he had formulated his main principles:

> From this *Grant* I infer . . . that the *Soveraigne, originall,* and *foundation* of *civill power* lies in the *people* . . . And if so, that a People may erect and establish what *forme* of *Government* seemes to them most meete for their *civill condition:* It is evident that such *Governments* as are by them erected and established, have no more *power*, nor for no longer time, then the *civill power* or people consenting and agreeing shall betrust them with. This is cleere not only in *Reason*, but in the experience of all *commonweales*, where

the people are not deprived of their *naturall freedome* by the power of *Tyrants.*[1]

Clearly the radical times, his own experience, and his discussions with Sir Harry Vane had carried Roger Williams far into the field of political speculation, and confirmed his prepossessions of broader political rights for the common people from whom he had sprung. In all his later thinking there stood sharply before his mind the figure of the individual citizen, endowed with certain inalienable rights, a free member of a free commonwealth; and it was this profoundly modern conception which he transported to the wilderness of Rhode Island, providing there a fit sanctuary for the ark of the democratic covenant which was soon to be roughly handled by the tory reaction of Restoration England.

A courageous and unselfish thinker was this old-time Separatist and democrat. The friendliest of souls, time has brought him the friends which his restless intellect drove from him in his own day. However hopelessly we may lose ourselves in the tangle of his writings, confused by the luxuriance of his Hebraic tropes, we can plainly discern the man, the most charitable, the most open-minded, the most modern, amongst the notable company of Puritan emigrants—the sincerest Christian among many who sincerely desired to be Christians. His own words most adequately characterize him: "*Liberavi animam meam:* I have not hid within my *breast*, my *souls* belief." Naturally such a man could not get on with the Presbyterian leaders of Boston Bay; the social philosophies which divided them were fundamentally hostile; and the fate which Roger Williams suffered was prophetic of the lot that awaited later zealots in the democratic cause—to be outcast and excommunicate from respectable society.

A man of far different mettle was old Thomas Hooker of Hartford. The sternest autocrat of them all, a leader worthy to measure swords with the redoubtable Hugh Peters himself, a man of "mighty vigour and fervour of spirit" who, to further "his Master's work, would put a king in his pocket," he would seem to be the very stuff out of which to fashion a dictator for the snug Presbyterian Utopia. Nevertheless there was some hidden bias in the old Puritan's nature that warped him away from Presbyterianism, and made him the advocate of a democratic Congregationalism. The great schism which rent the early theocracy, carrying off three congregations into the Connecticut wilderness, was an early witness to the antagonisms which lurked in the ambitions of diverse-minded enthusiasts. The seceders had other notions of church organization, it appears, than those held by the dominant group; but they were moderates, who believed that everything should be done decently and in order, and instead of setting up a clamour and bringing confusion upon God's work, they withdrew quietly under the leadership of Thomas Hooker and set up their new church at Hartford.

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[1] *Narr. Club Pub.*, III., 249.

Concerning the "grave and juditious Hooker" surprisingly little is known, notwithstanding the work that he did and the influence that he wielded during a masterful life. He was a man evidently regardless of fame, who took small pains to publish his virtues to the ears of posterity; nevertheless it is clear that he was a better democrat than the Boston leaders—the father of New England Congregationalism as it later came to be when the Presbyterian tendency was finally checked. For his pronounced democratic sympathies some ground may be discovered in his humble origin. He was sprung of a plain yeoman family, got his education by the aid of scholarships, married a "waiting-woman" to the wife of his patron, and lived plainly, untroubled by social ambitions. He was a self-made man who had risen by virtue of strength of character and disdained to be a climber. He was evidently one of the greatest preachers of his time in either England, and he had early been marked by Laud's spies as one of "the people's creatures" "who blew the bellows of their sedition." He drew young men to him—among others John Eliot; and even though he should be silenced, his influence would remain. "His genius will still haunte all the pulpits in ye country, where any of his scholars may be admitted to preach," one of the sycophants reported of him. Such a man must be reckoned with; and when in New England he found the ways too autocratic to suit him, he threw himself into the work of quickening the democratic unrest. "After Mr. Hooker's coming over," said Hubbard, "it was observed that many of the freemen grew to be very jealous of their liberties."

He was more concerned with experimental religion than with theology, more the pastor than the teacher. Nevertheless, when the Massachusetts leaders were troubled by attacks of old-world Presbyterians directed against "the New-England way," they drafted Hooker to write a defence. This was the origin of his *Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline*, a knotty book vigorous in thought and phrase, the most important contribution of New England Congregationalism to the great disputes of the time. The old champion went straight to the heart of the matter, seizing upon the political principles involved:

> But whether all Ecclesiasticall power be . . . rightly taken in to the Presbytery alone: Or that the people of the Particular Churches should come in for a share . . . This is left as the subject of the inquiry of this age, and that which occasions great thought of heart of all hands: Great thoughts of hearts in the Presbytery, as being very loth to part with that so chief priviledge, and of which they have taken possession so many years. Great thoughts of heart amongst the churches, how they may clear their right, and claim it in such pious sobriety and moderation, as becomes the Saints: being unwilling to loose their cause and comfort, meerly upon a nihil dicit: or forever to be deprived of so precious a legacy, as they conceive this is, though it hath been withheld from them, by the tyranny of the Pope, and prescription of times. Nor can they conceive it lesse, then a heedlesse betraying of their speciall liberties . . . by a carelesse silence, when the course of providence, as the juncture of things now present themselves, allows them a writt Ad melius inquirendum. . . . These are the times when people shall be fitted for such priviledges, fit I say to obtain them, and fit to use them. . . . And whereas it hath been charged upon the people, that through their ignorance and unskilfulnesse, they are not able to wield such priviledges, and therefore not fit to share in any such power, The Lord hath promised: To take away the vail from all faces in the mountain, the weak shall be as David, and David as an Angel of God.[1]

If the Presbyterianizing party found the path they were treading thorny and rough, it was due in no small part to

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[1] Introd.

Thomas Hooker, who liberally bestrewed their path with impediments. Hebraist and theocrat though he professed to be, his Hebraic theocracy was grounded upon the people, and pointed straight towards the sovereignty of the individual congregation. "The Lord hath promised to take away the vail from all faces in the mountain"—and if the veil be removed and the people see, shall not the people judge concerning their own causes? In this faith Thomas Hooker lived and laboured, thereby proving his right to be numbered among the stewards of our American democracy.

The fibre of the emigrant leaders had been toughened by conflict with old-world conservatism and turned radical by the long struggle with an arrogant toryism. By a natural selective process the stoutest-hearted had been driven overseas, and the well-known words of William Stoughton, "God sifted a whole Nation that he might send choice grain over into this wildernes,"[1] were the poetic expression of a bitter reality. But seated snugly in the new world, in control of church and state, the emigrant radicalism found its ardour cooling. The Synod of 1637 set a ban upon Antinomianism and other heretical innovations, and thereafter Massachusetts settled down to a rigid orthodoxy. The fathers had planted, was it not enough for the sons to water and tend the vine, and enjoy the fruit thereof? And so the spirit of conservatism took possession of the native generation, the measure of excellence being accounted the fidelity with which the husbandmen revered the work of the emigrant pioneers. Translated into modern terms, it means that the native ministers, having inherited a system of which they were the beneficiaries, discovered little inclination to question the title deeds to their inheritance, but were mainly bent on keeping them safe. To preserve what had been gained, and as far as possible to extend the Presbyterian principle, became their settled policy; and so in all the life of New England—in the world of Samuel Sewall, as well as in that of Cotton Mather—a harsh and illiberal dogmatism succeeded to the earlier enthusiasm.

The indisputable leader of the second generation was

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[1] From a sermon entitled, *New-Englands true interests; not to lie: Or, a Treatise declaring . . . the terms on which we stand, and the tenure by which we hold our . . . precious and pleasant things.* Cambridge, 1670.

Increase Mather, son of Richard Mather, and father of Cotton, the most vigorous and capable member of a remarkable family. After graduating at Harvard, he entered Trinity College, Dublin, where he proceeded Master of Arts. He spent some years in England, preaching there to the edification of many, until the restoration of Charles sent him back to America to become the guiding spirit of the New England hierarchy. He was by nature a politician and statesman rather than a minister, the stuff of which frocked chancellors were made; and he needed only a pliant master to have become another Wolsey or Richelieu. He liked to match his wit in diplomacy with statesmen, and he served his native land faithfully and well in the matter of wheedling Dutch William into granting a new charter to Massachusetts. A natural autocrat, he was dictatorial and domineering, bearing himself arrogantly towards all underlings, unyielding in opposition to whoever crossed his will. And in consequence he gathered about his head such fierce antagonism that in the end he failed of his ambitions, and shorn of power he sat down in old age to eat the bread of bitterness.

Skill in organization was the secret of his strength. In no sense a creative thinker, wholly lacking in intellectual curiosity and therefore not given to speculation, he built up a compact hierarchical machine, and then suffered the mortification of seeing it broken to pieces by forces that lay beyond his control. If the theocratic ideal of ecclesiastical control of secular affairs were to maintain itself against the growing opposition, the ministers must fortify their position by a closer organization. They must speak as a unit in determining church policies; above all they must guard against the wolves in sheep's clothing who were slipping into the pulpits to destroy the flocks. To effect such ends Synods were necessary, and Increase Mather was an ardent advocate of Synodical organization. He prompted the calling of the "Reforming Synod" of 1679–80, served as Moderator, dominated the debates, and drafted the report; and the purpose which underlay such work was the substitution of a Presbyterian hierarchy for the older Congregationalism. The church must dominate the state; the organized ministers must dominate the church; and Increase Mather trusted that he could dominate the ministers—such in brief was the dream of this masterful leader of the second generation.

The source of his power lay in the pulpit, and for sixty-four years the Old North Church was the citadel of Mather orthodoxy. His labours were enormous. Sixteen hours a day he commonly studied. Among many powerful preachers he was reckoned "the complete preacher," and he thundered above his congregation with an authority that must have been appalling. His personal influence carried far, and doubtless there were many good men in Boston who believed—as Roger Williams said of John Cotton—that "God would not suffer" Increase Mather "to err." Those whom his voice could not reach his pen must convince, and the busy minister set a pace in the making and publishing of books which only his busier son could equal. He understood thoroughly the power of the press, and he watched over it with an eagle eye; no unauthorized or godless work must issue thence for the pollution of the people; and to insure that only fit matter should be published he was at enormous pains to supply enough manuscript himself to keep the printers busy. The press was a powerful aid to the pulpit in shaping public opinion, and Increase Mather was too shrewd a leader not to understand how necessary it was to hold it in strict control. He was a calculating dictator, and he ruled the press with the same iron hand with which he ruled the pulpit. He was no advocate of freedom, for he was no friend of democracy.

Of the odium which an obstinate defence of a passing order gathered about the name of Mather, the larger share fell to the lot of Cotton Mather, whose passionately distorted career remains so incomprehensible to us. One may well hesitate to describe Cotton Mather; the man is unconceivable to one who has not read his diary. Unlike Increase, he was provincial to the core. Born and bred in Boston, his longest trips into the outer world carried him only a few miles from the Old North Meeting-house, where for years he served as co-labourer with his father. Self-centred and self-righteous, the victim of strange asceticisms and morbid spiritual debauches, every circumstance of his life ripened and expanded the colossal egotism of his nature. His vanity was daily fattened by the adulation of silly women and the praise of foolish men, until the insularity of his thought and judgment grew into a disease. His mind was clogged with the strangest miscellany of truth and fiction; he laboured to acquire the possessions of a scholar, but he listened to old wives' tales with an amazing credulity. In all his mental processes the solidest fact fell into grotesque perspective, and confused itself with the most fantastic abortions. And yet he was prompted by a love of scientific investigation, and in the matter of inoculation for smallpox showed himself both courageous and intelligent.

Living under the shadow of his father, he was little more than a reduced copy of the Mather ambitions, inheriting a ready-made theology, a passion for the ideals of the emigrant generation, an infallible belief in the finality of the Mather conclusions. The masterfulness of old Increase degenerated in the son into an intolerable meddlesomeness; and in the years of reaction against ecclesiastical domination the position of Cotton Mather was difficult. He was exposed to attack from two sides; the tories with whom he would gladly have affiliated, and the democrats whom he held in contempt, both rejected the archaic theocracy. As his meddlesomeness increased, the attacks of his enemies multiplied, wounding his self-esteem bitterly—"having perhaps the Insults of contemptible People, the Assaults of those insignificant *Lice*, more than any man in *New-England*," as his son testifies. "These troublesome but diminutive Creatures he scorn'd to concern himself with; only to *pity* them and *pray* for them." He would die willingly, he believed, to save his erring people from their sins, but he obstinately refused to be dictated to by them.

Of the content of his innumerable writings the accompanying Bibliography will give sufficient indication. A man of incredible industry, unrestrained by any critical sense, and infatuated with printer's ink, he flung together a jumble of old saws and modern instances and called the result a book. Of the 470 odd titles, the *Magnalia* alone possesses some vitality still, the repository of much material concerning early days in Massachusetts that we should not willingly lose. "In his *Style*, indeed," according to a contemporary critic, "he was something singular, and not so agreeable to the Gust of the Age. But like his *manner of speaking*, it was very *emphatical*."

The emphasis, it must be confessed, is now gone from his pages, and the singularity remains, a singularity little agreeable to the gust of today.

The party of conservatism numbered among its adherents every prominent minister of the greater churches. The organization propaganda of the Mathers spread widely, and in 1705 a group of men put forth a series of "Proposals" looking to a closer union of the churches, and greater control of the separate congregations by the ministerial association.[1] Seven years later John Wise, pastor of the second church of Ipswich, published his *Churches Quarrel Espoused*, and in 1717, his *Vindication of the New England Churches*. The two works were a democratic counterblast to the Presbyterian propaganda, and stirred the thought of the churches so effectively as to nullify the Proposals, and put an end to all such agitation in Massachusetts.

Posterity has been too negligent of John Wise hitherto. Although possessed of the keenest mind and most trenchant pen of his generation of Americans, he was untainted by any itch of publicity, and so failed to challenge the attention of later times. Nevertheless, what we know of him is to his credit. An independent man, powerful of body, vigorous of intellect, tenacious of opinion, outspoken and fearless in debate, he seems to have understood the plain people whom he served, and he sympathized heartily with the democratic ideals then taking shape in the New England village. Some explanation of his democratic sympathies may be discovered in his antecedents. His father was a self-made man who had come over to Roxbury as an indented servant—most menial of stations in that old Carolinian world. There he doubtless taught his son independence and democratic self-respect, which stood John Wise in good stead when he later came to speak for the people against the arbitrary tax of Andros, the encroachments of the Mathers, or the schemes of the hard-money men.

When, in response to the challenge of the Presbyterians, he turned to examine critically the work of the fathers, he found in it quite another meaning than Cotton Mather found.

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[1] For an account of the movement, see Walker's *History of the Congregational Churches in the United States*, pp. 201–213.

It was as a radical that he went back to the past, seeking to recover the original Congregational principle, which, since the conservative triumph in the Synod of 1637, had been greatly obscured. The theme of his two books is the same, a defence of the "venerable New-English constitution"; but the significance of them in the history of democratic America lies in the fact that he followed "an unbeaten path," justifying the principles of Congregationalism by analogy from civil polity. Seemingly alone amongst the New England clergy of his day he had grounded himself in political theory; and the doctrine upon which he erected his argument was the new conception of "natural rights," derived from a study of Puffendorf's *De Jure Naturae et Gentium*, published in 1672. This was the first effective reply in America to the old theocratic sneer that if the democratic form of government were indeed divinely sanctioned, was it not strange that God had overlooked it in providing a system for his chosen people? But Wise had broken with the literal Hebraism of earlier times, and was willing to make use of a pagan philosophy, based upon an appeal to history, a method which baffled the followers of the old school. They found difficulty in replying to such argument:

> That a democracy in church or state, is a very honourable and regular government according to the dictates of right reason, And, therefore . . . That these churches of New England, in their ancient constitution of church order, it being a democracy, are manifestly justified and defended by the law and light of nature.

With the advance of the democratic movement of modern times, the life and work of John Wise take on new interest. After a spirited contest lasting for three-quarters of a century, theocratic Puritanism merged in ecclesiastical democracy. For two generations it had remained doubtful which way the church would incline. Dominated by gentlemen, it was warped toward Presbyterianism; but interpreted by commoners, it leaned towards Congregationalism. The son of a plebeian, Wise came naturally into sympathy with the spirit of radical Separatism, bred of the democratic aspirations of the old Jacobean underlings; and this radical Separatism he found justified by the new philosophy, as well as by the facts of the

New England village world. The struggle for ecclesiastical democracy was a forerunner of the struggle for political democracy, which was to be the business of the next century; and in justifying his ecclesiasticism by political principles, John Wise was an early witness to the new order of thought.

Judged by the severest standards, the Puritan ministers were a notable group of men; the English race has never bred their superiors in self-discipline and exalted ideals, and rarely their equals in consecration to duty. Their interests might be narrow and their sympathies harsh and illiberal; nevertheless men who studied ten to sixteen hours a day were neither boors nor intellectual weaklings. A petty nature would not have uttered the lament of Increase Mather:

> not many years ago, I *lost* (and that's an afflictive *loss* indeed!) several moneths from study by sickness. Let every God-fearing reader joyn with me in prayer, that I may be enabled to redeem the time, and (in all wayes wherein I am capable), to serve my generation.[1]

From the long hours of reading they acquired a huge mass of learning; out of the many books they read they made still other books of like nature and purpose. The way of printer's ink was the path of celebrity and authority, and the minister who had not a goodly number of volumes to his credit was an unprofitable servant, lacking ambition to glorify his Lord. Though they denied themselves in other things, they did not stint their library. In 1686 John Dunton numbered eight book-shops in the village of Boston; and in 1702 Cotton Mather described his study, "the hangings whereof, are Boxes with between two and three thousand Books in them."

According to present taste it was an uninviting library; works of pure literature were as lacking as books of history and political philosophy and science. Nevertheless, though their reading was narrow, the ministers in many respects were in advance of their times. For all his grotesque lack of scientific method, Cotton Mather was more nearly a scientist than any other man of his day in Boston,—a weakness which laid him open to criticism. Under date of 23 December, 1714, Sewall noted in his diary:

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[1] Preface to *Remarkable Providences.*

> Dr. C. Mather preaches excellently from Ps. 37. Trust in the Lord, etc., only spake of the Sun being in the centre of our system. I think it inconvenient to assert such problems.

His membership in the Royal Society, to which he forwarded his *Curiosa Americana*, encouraged him to keep abreast of current scientific thought; and it was from this source that he got the idea of inoculation for smallpox, which he urged upon the people of Boston so insistently that a war of pamphlets broke out. When we remember that during ninety years only two books on medicine were published in New England—one a popular pharmacopeia and the other a hand-book on smallpox prevention—it is suggestive that within a few months sixteen papers on inoculation came from the press. In this case the minister was in advance of the physicians.

If the influence of the ministers was commanding, it was due in part to their indisputable vigour, and in part, it must be acknowledged, to their control of the means of publicity. The complete domination of the press they regarded as their perquisite; and they swayed public opinion sometimes by means not wholly to their credit. Those who opposed their policies experienced difficulties in gaining a hearing. Thus Robert Calef, who attacked the Mathers because of the witchcraft business, found it desirable to send his manuscript to London for publication, and John Wise probably sent his manuscript of *The Churches Quarrel Espoused* to New York.[1] Complaints were heard that the press was closed. In the preface to *The Gospel Order Revived*, by T. Woodbridge and other malcontents, published in New York in 1700,

> The Reader is desired to take Notice that the Press in *Boston* is so much under the aw of the Reverend Author, whom we answer, and his Friends, that we could not obtain of the Printer there to print the following Sheets, which is the true Reason why we have sent the Copy so far for its Impression and where it was printed with some Difficulty.

When James Franklin spoke out roundly against the tyranny of the ministers, they induced the magistrates to teach him respect by throwing him into the common gaol. It was a serious matter to offend the hierarchy, even in the days of its decline, and far more serious to attack. But the days of its domination were numbered, and after 1720 the secular authority of the Puritan divines swiftly decayed. The old dream of a Kingdom of God was giving way, under pressure of economic circumstance, to the new dream of a commonwealth of free citizens. The theological age was to be followed by a political age, and in this later world of thought the Puritan divines were unfitted to remain leaders of the people.

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[1] See Bibliography on this point.

CHAPTER IV

Edwards

JONATHAN EDWARDS was born at Windsor, Connecticut, in 1703. He belonged, unlike his great contemporary Franklin in this, to the "Brahmin families" of America, his father being a distinguished graduate of Harvard and a minister of high standing, his mother being the daughter of Solomon Stoddard, a revered pastor of Northampton, Massachusetts, and a religious author of repute. Jonathan, one of eleven children, showed extraordinary precocity. There is preserved a letter of his, written apparently in his twelfth year, in which he retorts upon certain materialistic opinions of his correspondent with an easiness of banter not common to a boy; and another document, from about the same period, an elaborate account of the habits of spiders, displays a keenness of observation and a vividness of style uncommon at any age.

He studied at Yale, receiving his bachelor's degree in 1720, before his seventeenth birthday. While at college he continued his interest in scientific observations, but his main concern was naturally with theology and moral philosophy. As a sophomore he read Locke *On the Human Understanding*, with the delight of a "greedy miser" in "some newly discovered treasure." Some time after reading Locke and before graduation he wrote down a series of reflections, preparatory to a great metaphysical treatise of his own, which can be compared only with the *Commonplace Book* kept by Berkeley a few years earlier for the same purpose. In the section of "Notes on the Mind" this entry is found: "Our perceptions or ideas, that we passively receive by our bodies, are communicated to us immediately by God." Now Berkeley's *Principles* and his *Hylas and Philonous* appeared in 1710 and 1713 respectively, and the question has been raised, and not answered, whether this Berkeleian sentiment was borrowed from one of these books or was original with Edwards. Possibly the youthful philosopher was following a line of thought suggested by the English disciples of Malebranche, possibly he reached his point of view directly from Locke; in any case his life-work was to carry on the Lockian philosophy from the point where the Berkeleian idealism left off.

After graduation Edwards remained for two years at Yale, preparing for the ministry. In 1722 he was called to a Presbyterian church in New York. Here he preached acceptably for eight months, returning then to his father's house, and later to New Haven, where he held the position of tutor in the college. In 1727 he went to Northampton as colleague, and became in due time successor, to his grandfather. Almost immediately after ordination he married Sarah Pierrepont, like himself of the Brahmin caste, whom he had known as a young girl, and whose beauty of body and soul he had described in a passage of ecstatic wonder.

> "They say," he began, being himself then twenty and the object of his adoration thirteen, "there is a young lady in New Haven who is beloved of that great Being who made and rules the world, and that there are certain seasons in which this great Being, in some way or other invisible, comes to her and fills her mind with exceeding sweet delight."

The marriage, notwithstanding this romantic rapture, proved eminently wise.

Like a good many other men of his age Edwards lived his inner life, so to speak, on paper. There is therefore nothing peculiar or priggish in the fact that at the beginning of his religious career he should have written out a set of formal resolutions, which he vowed to read over, and did read over, at stated intervals in order to keep watch on his spiritual progress. A number of these resolutions have been printed, as has also a part of the diary kept at about the same time. Neither of these documents, the time of their writing considered, contains anything remarkable. But it is quite otherwise with the private reflections which he wrote out some twenty years later (about 1743) at Northampton, apparently on some occasion of reading over his youthful diary. In these we have an autobiographical fragment that, for intensity of absorption in the idea of God and for convincing power of utterance, can be likened to the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, while it unites to this religious fervour a romantic feeling for nature foreign to the Bishop of Hippo's mind and prophetic of a movement that was to sweep over the world many years after Edwards's death. A few extracts from this document (not so well known as it would have been if it had not been printed with the works of a thorny metaphysician) must be given for their biographical and literary interest:

> From my childhood up, my mind had been full of objections against the doctrine of God's sovereignty, in choosing whom he would to eternal life, and rejecting whom he pleased; leaving them eternally to perish, and be everlastingly tormented in hell. It used to appear like a horrible doctrine to me. But I remember the time very well, when I seemed to be convinced, and fully satisfied, as to this sovereignty of God. . . . I have often, since that first conviction, had quite another kind of sense of God's sovereignty than I had then. I have often since had not only a conviction, but a delightful conviction. The doctrine has very often appeared exceeding pleasant, bright, and sweet. Absolute sovereignty is what I love to ascribe to God. But my first conviction was not so.
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> The first instance that I remember of that sort of inward, sweet delight in God and divine things that I have lived much in since, was on reading those words, *Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever, Amen.* As I read the words, there came into my soul, and was as it were diffused through it, a sense of the glory of the Divine Being. . . .
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> Not long after I first began to experience these things, I gave an account to my father of some things that had passed in my mind. I was pretty much affected by the discourse we had together; and when the discourse was ended, I walked abroad alone, in a solitary place in my father's pasture, for contemplation. And as I was walking there, and looking up on the sky and clouds, there came into my mind so sweet a sense of the glorious *majesty* and *grace* of God, that I know not how to express. I seemed to see them

both in a sweet conjunction; majesty and meekness joined together; it was a sweet and gentle, and holy majesty; and also a majestic meekness; an awful sweetness; a high, and great, and holy gentleness.

This is not the Edwards that is commonly known, and indeed he put little of this personal rapture of holiness into his published works, which were almost exclusively polemical in design. Only once, perhaps, did he adequately display this aspect of his thought to the public; and that was in the *Dissertation on the Nature of Virtue*, wherein, starting from the definition of virtue as "the beauty of the qualities and exercises of the heart," he proceeds to combine ethics and aesthetics in an argument as subtle in reasoning as it is, in places, victorious in expression. One cannot avoid the feeling, when his writings are surveyed as a whole, that in his service to a particular dogma of religion Edwards deliberately threw away the opportunity of making for himself, despite the laxness of his style, one of the very great names in literature.

It should seem also that he not only suppressed his personal ecstasy in his works for the press, but waived it largely in his more direct intercourse with men. He who himself, like an earlier and perhaps greater Emerson, was enjoying the sweetness of walking with God in the garden of earth, was much addicted to holding up before his people the "pleasant, bright, and sweet" doctrine of damnation. Nor can it be denied that he had startling ways of impressing this sweetness on others. It is a misfortune, but one for which he is himself responsible, that his memory in the popular mind today is almost exclusively associated with certain brimstone sermons and their terrific effect. Best known of these is the discourse on *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*, delivered at Enfield, Connecticut, in the year 1741. His text was taken from Deuteronomy: "Their foot shall slide in due time"; and from these words he proceeded to prove, and "improve," the truth that "there is nothing that keeps wicked men at any moment out of hell, but the mere pleasure of God." He is said to have had none of the common qualities of the orator. His regular manner of preaching, at least in his earlier years, was to hold his "manuscript volume in his left hand, the elbow resting on the cushion or the Bible, his right hand rarely raised but to turn the leaves, and his person almost motionless"; but there needed no gesticulation and no modulation of voice to convey the force of his terrible conviction, when, to an audience already disposed to accept the dogma, he presented that dogma in a series of pictures like the following:

> The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider, or some loathesome insect, over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked; his wrath towards you burns like fire; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else, but to be cast into the fire; he is of purer eyes than to bear to have you in his sight.

The congregation of Enfield, we are told, was moved almost to despair; "there was such a breathing of distress and weeping" that the speaker was interrupted and had to plead for silence. Sincerity of vision may amount to cruelty, and something is due to the weakness of human nature.

The result was inevitable. The people of Northampton listened to Edwards for a time; were rapt out of themselves; suffered the relapse of natural indolence; grew resentful under the efforts to keep them in a state of exaltation; and freed themselves of the burden when it became intolerable. At first all went well. Stoddard, in whose declining years the discipline of the church had been somewhat relaxed, died in 1729, and the fervour of his successor soon began to tell on the people. In 1733, as Edwards notes in his *Narrative of Surprising Conversions*, there was a stirring in the conscience of the young, who had hitherto been prone to the awful sin of "frolicking." The next year the sudden conversion of a young woman, "who had been one of the greatest company keepers in the whole town," came upon the community "like a flash of lightning"; the Great Awakening was started, which was to run over New England like a burning fire, with consequences not yet obliterated. The usual accompaniments of moral exaltation and physical convulsions showed themselves. Edwards relates with entire approbation the morbid conversion of a child of four. The poor little thing was overheard by her mother in her closet wrestling with God in prayer, from which she came out crying aloud and "wreathing her body to and fro like one in anguish of spirit." She was afraid she was going to hell!

It was inevitable that such a wave of superheated emotion should subside in a short time. In fact the enthusiasm had scarcely reached its height when it began to show signs of perversion and decay. Immediately after the story of the young convert Edwards notes that "the Spirit of God was gradually withdrawing" and "Satan seemed to be let loose and raged in a dreadful manner." An epidemic of melancholy and suicidal mania swept over the community, and multitudes seemed to hear a voice saying to them: "Cut your own throat, now is a good opportunity." Strange delusions arose and spread, until common sense once more got the upper hand.

It was an old tale, told in New England with peculiar fury. The saddest thing in the whole affair is the part played by Edwards. Other leaders saw the danger from the first, or were soon awakened to it; but Edwards never, either at this time or later, wavered in his belief that the Awakening, though marred by the devil, was in itself the work of the Divine Spirit. His *Thoughts on the Revival of Religion* and his *Marks of a Work of the True Spirit* are both a thoroughgoing apology for the movement, as they are also an important document in his own psychology. The jangling and confusion he admits; he recognizes the elements of hysteria that were almost inextricably mixed up with the moral exaltation of conversion; but his defence is based frankly on the avowal that these things are the universal accompaniments of inspiration—they attended the founding of the church in the Apostolic age, they were to be expected at the instauration of religion. Often the reader of these treatises is struck by a curious, and by no means accidental, resemblance between the position of Edwards and the position of the apologists of the romantic movement in literature. There is the same directness of appeal to the emotions; the same laudation of sheer expansiveness, at the cost, if need be, of judgment or measure or any other restraint. Prudence and regularity may be desirable in the service of God, yet it is still true that "the cry of irregularity and imprudence" has been mainly in the mouths of those who are enemies to the main work of redemption. Perturbation, in truth, is not properly so called when it is the means of rousing the cold and indifferent from their lethargy; we are bound to suppose that not even the man "of the strongest reason and greatest learning" can remain master of himself if "strongly impressed with a sense of divine and eternal things." It comes in the end to this, that, notwithstanding his verbal reservations, Edwards had no critical canon to distinguish between the order and harmony governed by a power higher than either the imagination or the emotions, and the order and harmony that are merely stagnation.

One factor in his confidence was a belief that the discovery of America, coinciding as it did with the beginning of the Reformation, came by Providence for "the glorious renovation of the world"; nay more, that the humble town in which he was preaching might be the cradle of the new dispensation, from whence it should spread over the whole earth. His language may even seem to betray a touch of spiritual pride over the part he himself should be called upon to play as the instrument of Grace in this marvellous regeneration. That vice of the saints was indeed a subject much in his meditations, and one of the finest pieces of religious psychology in his works is the passage of the *Revival* in which he tracks it through the labyrinthine deceits of the human heart. It was a sin against which he had probably to keep particular ward in these years, but we should not say that he ever, in any proper sense of the word, lapsed from the virtue of Christian humility. If he seemed to set himself above other men as an exigent judge, this was rather due to a faulty sympathy, an inability to measure others except by the standard of his own great faculties. Thus, for all his emotionalism, he lived under the control of an iron will, and he could not comprehend how the over-stimulation of terror and joy in a weaker disposition would work moral havoc. Nor from his own constant height could he understand how brief and fitful any mood of exaltation must be among ordinary men in their ordinary condition. Hence he not only failed to see the gravity of the actual evils at the time of the Awakening, but failed also, with more grievous results for himself, to recognize the impossibility of flogging the dead emotion into new life.

The issue came on a point of church discipline. Edwards believed that religion was essentially a matter of the emotions or affections. A man might have perfect knowledge of divine things, as indeed the devil had, but unless the love of God was implanted in his heart by the free act of Grace he had no lot with the faithful. To develop this theme he wrote his great *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*, a work which may without exaggeration be said to go as far as the human intellect can go in the perilous path of discriminating between the purely spiritual life and the life of worldly morality. Now even the simple statement of the difference between the condition of Grace and the condition of nature is hard for the natural man to follow; but when Edwards, with the acumen of a genius and the doggedness of a scholar, imposed his distinction on all the intricate feelings of life, the natural man was dazed; and when he attempted to make it the criterion of admission to the Lord's Table, the natural man who thought himself a Christian rebelled. Stoddard had held it right to admit to communion all those who desired honestly to unite themselves with the church. Edwards protested that only those who had undergone a radical conversion and knew the affections of supernatural love should enjoy this high privilege. His congregation sided with their old guide against him.

The quarrel was further embittered by another issue. It came to light that certain young folk of the church were reading profane books which led to lewd conversation. Edwards called for public discipline of the sinners; the congregation supported him until investigation showed that the evil was widespread and would bring discredit on most of the better families of the town, and then they blocked further proceedings. If tradition is correct in naming *Pamela* as one of the guilty books, we may admire the literary taste of youthful Northampton, yet think that their pastor was justified in condemning such reading as incendiary. However that may be, when, on 22 June, 1750, a public vote was taken whether Edwards should be dismissed from his pastorate, a large majority was counted against him. Northampton has the distinction of having rejected the greatest theologian and philosopher yet produced in this country. The behaviour of Edwards when the crisis actually came was simple, dignified, and even noble. His *Farewell Sermon*, with its dispassionate and submissive appeal from the tribunal of men to that final judgment which shall be given in knowledge and righteousness, cannot be read today without a deep stirring of the heart.

At the age of forty-six Edwards was thrust upon the world, discredited, in broken health, with a large family to support, but undaunted. Then befell a strange thing. This philosopher, whose thoughts and emotions ranged beyond the ken of most educated men, was sent to the frontier town of Stockbridge as a missionary to the Indians. There for six years he laboured faithfully and, at least in the practical management of affairs, successfully. It must have been one of the memorable sights of the world to see him returning on horseback from a solitary ride into the forest, while there fluttered about him, pinned to his coat, the strips of paper on which he had scribbled the results of his meditations. His days were little troubled, and not overburdened with work, peaceful it is thought; and now it was he wrote the treatise on the *Freedom of the Will* upon which his fame chiefly depends.

In 1757 his son-in-law, the Rev. Aaron Burr, died, and Edwards was chosen by the Trustees of the College of New Jersey to succeed him as president. Edwards hesitated, stating frankly to the Trustees his disabilities of health and learning, but he finally accepted the offer. He left his family to follow him later, and arrived in Princeton in January, 1758. Smallpox was in the town, and the new president was soon infected. His death took place on 22 March, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. His last recorded words were: "Trust in God and ye need not fear."

The child was indeed father of the man, and it was peculiarly fitting that he who from youth upward had been absorbed in the idea of God should have died with the sacred word on his lips. But what shall be said of the fearlessness—and there is no reason to question the perfect sincerity of his spiritual joy—in the breast of one who had made terror the chief instrument of appeal to men and had spent his life in fighting for a dogma which the genial author of *The One-Hoss Shay* thought no decent man could hold without going crazy? To understand that charge properly we must throw ourselves back into the age in which Edwards lived.

Now the Edwardian theology was a part of the great deistic debate which took its root in the everlasting question of the origin of evil in the world. It was a three-cornered contest. The Calvinists and the infidels both believed in a kind of determinism, but differed over the nature of the determining cause. The Calvinists found this cause in a personal Creator, omnipotent and omniscient, to whom they did not scruple to carry up all the evil as well as all the good of the universe—"c'est que Dieu," as Calvin himself states categorically, "non seulement a preveu la cheute du premier homme, et en icelle la ruine de toute sa posterité, mais qu'il l'a ainsi voulu." The deists, who at this time formed the fighting line of the infidels, while verbally acknowledging the existence of God and theorizing on the nature of evil, virtually regarded the universe as a perfectly working machine in which there was no room for a personal governor or for real sin. To the Arminians, including the bulk of the orthodox churchmen, the alliance between Calvinism and deism seemed altogether to outweigh the differences. As Daniel Whitby declares in the preface to his discourses *On the Five Points of Calvinism* (1710; reprinted in America), to hold God responsible for evil is to play directly into the hands of the atheists. And so the age-old dispute between Augustinian and Pelagian, and between Calvinist and Arminian, took on a new life from the deistic controversy, and there sprang up a literature which undertook to preserve the idea of an omnipotent personal Creator and at the same time to save his face, if the expression may be tolerated, by attributing to men complete free will and accountability for their actions.

It was in answer to Whitby's book and one or two others of the kind that Edwards composed his *Freedom of the Will*. His argument has a psychological basis. In the *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* he had divided the soul into two faculties: one called the understanding, by which it discerns, views, and judges things; the other called the heart or will, being nothing else but the inclination of the soul towards or the disinclination from what is discerned and judged by the understanding. In the *Freedom of the Will* he starts with Locke's statement that "the Will is perfectly distinguished from Desire, which in the very same action may have a quite contrary tendency from that which our Wills set us upon." This theory Edwards analyses and rejects, and then proceeds to show that a man's desire and will are virtually the same faculty of the soul. It follows from this that the will at any moment is determined by the strongest motive acting upon the soul; we are free in so far as no obstacle is presented to our willing in accordance with our inclination, but our inclination is determined by what at any moment seems to us good. In his attack on the common arguments for the freedom of the will Edwards is magnificently victorious. If the psychology by which the Arminians sought to relieve God of the burden of evil in human life is pushed into a corner, it shows itself as nothing more than this: Man's will is a faculty absolutely indeterminate in itself and entirely independent of his inclinations. When, therefore, a man errs, it is because, the choice between evil with its attendant suffering and good with its attendant happiness being presented to him, the man, having full knowledge of the consequences and being impelled by no momentary preponderance of the one or the other from his innate disposition, deliberately and freely chooses what is evil and painful. Such an account of human action is monstrous, inconceivable; it offered an easy mark for so sharp a logician as Edwards.

But whence arise the conditions by which a man's inclination is swayed in one direction or the other? Edwards carries these unflinchingly up to the first cause,—that is, as a Christian, to God. Berkeley had made the world to consist of ideas evoked in the mind of man by the mind of God; Edwards accepts the logical conclusion, and holds God responsible for the inclination of the human will which depends on these ideas. Calvin did not hesitate to attribute, in the bluntest language, the source of evil to God's will, but at the same time he warned men against intruding with their finite reason into this "sanctuary of the divine wisdom." The mind of Edwards could not rest while any problem seemed to him unsolved. Confronted with the mystery of the divine permission of evil, he undertakes to solve it by applying his psychology of man to the nature of God. (He himself would put it the other way about: "Herein does very much consist that image of God wherein he made man.") The passage in which he develops this thesis, though generally overlooked by his critics, is of the first importance:

> We must conceive of Him as influenced in the highest degree, by that which, above all others, is properly a moral inducement, viz., the moral good which He sees in such and such things: and therefore He is, in the most proper sense, a moral Agent, the source of all moral ability and Agency, the fountain and rule of all virtue and moral good; though by reason of his being supreme over all, it is not possible He should be under the influence of law or command, promises or threatenings, rewards or punishments, counsels or warnings. The essential qualities of a moral Agent are in God, in the greatest possible perfection; such as understanding, to perceive the difference between moral good and evil; a capacity of discerning that moral worthiness and demerit, by which some things are praiseworthy, others deserving of blame and punishment; and also a capacity of choice, and choice guided by understanding, and a power of acting according to his choice or pleasure, and being capable of doing those things which are in the highest sense praiseworthy.

In other words, the will of God is precisely like the will of man; it is merely the inclination, or *moral inducement*, to act as he is *influenced* by external power. The fatal mystery of good and evil, the true cause, lies above and beyond him; he is, like ourselves, a channel, not the source. The only difference is that God has complete knowledge of the possibilities of being, and therefore is not moved by threats and blind commands but, immediately, by what Edwards elsewhere calls the "moral necessity" of governing in accordance with the best of the "different objects of choice that are proposed to the Divine Understanding." By such a scheme God is really placed in about such a position as in the Leibnitzian continuation of Laurentius Valla's *Dialogue on Free Will and Providence*, where he is naïvely portrayed as looking upon an infinite variety of worlds piled up, like cannon balls, in pyramidal form before him, and selecting for creation that one which combines the greatest possible amount of good with the least possible admixture of evil.

From this pretty sport of the imagination Edwards would no doubt have drawn back in contempt, and indeed in his ordinary language God is merely the supreme Cause, without further speculation. One of the Leibnitzian inferences, moreover, is utterly excluded from his philosophy. He was no optimist, was in fact the last man to infer that, because this world is the best possible conceivable, evil is therefore a small and virtually negligible part of existence. On the contrary the whole animus of his teaching springs from a deep and immediate hatred of evil in itself and apart from any consideration of its cause.

> "The thing," he says, "which makes sin hateful, is that by which it deserves punishment; which is but the expression of hatred. . . . Thus, for instance, ingratitude is hateful and worthy of dispraise, according to common sense; not because something as bad, or worse than ingratitude, was the cause that produced it; but because it is hateful in itself, by its own inherent deformity."

To the charge of the Arminians that the doctrine of predestination leaves no place for the punishment of sin, this is an adequate and practical reply. But the consequences of this principle of common sense are, in another way, peculiar and even disastrous to the Edwardian theology. If we are right, as we indubitably are right, in detesting evil in itself and whereever seen, and if we hold with Edwards that the will of God, like the will of man, is merely the inclination towards the best object presented to its choice, and there is no power either in God or in man above the will, in what essential way, then, does the act of God in creating a world mixed with evil differ from the act of Judas in betraying God, and how are we relieved from hating God for the evil of his work with the same sort of hatred as that which we feel for Judas? Edwards had terrified the people of Enfield with a picture of God treading down sinners till their blood sprinkled his raiment, and exulting in his wrath. The retort is obvious, and unspeakable. Nor can he, or any other Predestinarian, escape the odium of such a retort by hiding behind the necessity of things which all men must, in one way or another, admit. There is a war between the nations, he will say, and suddenly a bomb, dropping upon a group of soldiers, themselves innocent of any crime, horribly rends and mangles them. Here is a hideous thing, and by no twisting of the reason can we avoid carrying the responsibility for this evil back to the first great cause of all. Shall we be held impious for saying metaphorically that the blood of these soldiers is sprinkled on the raiment of that

Cause?—Aye, but the difference to us morally if we leave that cause in its own vast obscurity, unapproached by our reason, untouched by our pride; or if we make it into an image of ourselves, composed only of understanding and inclination like our own, and subject to our reprobation as surely as to our love!

Edwards had riddled and forever destroyed the arguments for free will commonly employed by the Arminians; is there no alternative for the human reason save submission to his theological determinism or to fatalistic atheism?

One way of escape from that dilemma is obvious and well known. It is that which Dr. Johnson, with his superb faculty of common sense, seized upon when the Edwardian doctrine came up in conversation before him. "The only relief I had was to forget it," said Boswell, who had read the book; and Johnson closed the discussion with his epigram: "All theory is against the freedom of the will, all experience for it." That is sufficient, no doubt, for the conduct of life; yet there is perhaps another way of escape, which, if it does not entirely silence the metaphysical difficulties, at least gives them a new ethical turn. Twice in the course of his argument Edwards refers to an unnamed Arminian[1] who placed the liberty of the soul not in the will itself, but in some power of suspending volition until due time has elapsed for judging properly the various motives to action. His reply is that this suspension of activity, being itself an act of volition, merely throws back without annulling the difficulty; and as the argument came to him, this refutation is fairly complete. But a fuller consideration of the point at issue might possibly indicate a way out of the dilemma of free will and determinism into a morally satisfying form of dualism within the soul of man himself. At least it can be said that the looseness of the Arminian reasoning leaves an easier loophole of escape into a human philosophy than does the rigid logic of the Predestinarians.

Yet for all that, though we may follow Edwards's logical system to the breaking point, as we can follow every metaphysical system, and though we may feel that, in his revulsion from the optimism of the deists, he distorted the actual evil of existence into a nightmare of the imagination,—yet for all that, he remains one of the giants of the intellect and one of the enduring masters of religious emotion. He had not the legal and executive brain of Calvin, upon whose *Institutes* his scheme of theology is manifestly based, but in subtle resourcefulness of reasoning and still more in the scope of his spiritual psychology he stands above his predecessor. Few men have studied Edwards without recognizing the force and honesty of his genius.

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[1] Edwards, it should seem, had immediately in mind the *Essay on the Freedom of Will in God and the Creature* of Isaac Watts; but the notion had been discussed at length by Locke (*Essay* II, xxi), and at an earlier date had been touched on with great acumen by John Norris in his correspondence with Henry More.

CHAPTER V

Philosophers and Divines, 1720–1789

AN old-time classification of the human faculties will serve to explain the development of American thought in the eighteenth century, a development which led to the overthrow of high Calvinism. As there were three divisions of the human mind—intellect, sensibility, and will, so were there three divisions among the enemies of orthodoxy. Those who followed the intellect were the rationalists, or deists. Those who followed sensibility were the "hot" men, or enthusiasts. Those who followed the will were the ethical reformers, who emphasized the conscious cultivation of morality rather than a divinely wrought change in man's nature. This last group constituted the Arminians, the first in order of time in leading the assault upon embattled tradition. When Jonathan Edwards, in 1734, complained of the "great noise in this part of the country about Arminianism," he showed his alertness to the preliminary attack of the enemy. That attack was especially directed against the middle of the five points of Calvinism. It was not so much against particular redemption, or the perseverance of the saints, as against irresistible grace that the battle-cry was raised. The reason given was that such grace was bound to destroy man's free agency and convert him into a mere machine. This explains why Edwards threw up as a counterscarp his massive work upon the freedom of the human will wherein that freedom was virtually denied.

Meanwhile, the second group, the men of feeling, came into action. Received as allies, they turned out to be anything but a help to the cause. After the religious revival and the great awakening of 1734, Edwards the logician became, in a measure, Edwards the enthusiast. But calling in the aid of evangelists like George Whitefield carried sensibility beyond the limits of sense. To argue against the Arminians that, because of irresistible grace, men lack all native moral power, was to make men altogether passive in conversion and to run the risk of being carried away in a flood of feeling. So while Edwards warmed up his system by his writings on the *Religious Affections*, Whitefield had to be cautioned by the Connecticut divine for his too great dependence upon impulse. Brought in as an ally, Whitefield thus became an unconscious underminer of high Calvinism. It was one thing to preach irresistible grace; it was another to lack the restraining grace of common sense.

It was this lack which brought in the third group, those who sought the test of intellect. Agreeing with the Arminians as to the importance of the will, and opposing the enthusiasts for their extravagance of feeling, they had behind them the whole weight of the age of reason. But here a paradox appears. While, in general, our eighteenth-century thought went through the three phases of the conventional classification of man's powers, the development of that thought was anything but conventional. Before the problems of the will and of the feelings could be determined by the orderly processes of reason, the controversy was complicated by the irruption of a foreign force. George Whitefield was the disturber of the peace, and through him the question of morals lapsed into a question of manners. It was not denied that the evangelist did some good. The fault lay in the way in which he did it. Against this inspired son of a tavern keeper the New England clergy united in using the adjective "low," and naturally, as leaders of provincial society, they damned anything that was low. This staid and proper body, priding themselves upon dignity in deportment and rationality in religion, were, moreover, outraged at the conduct of an itinerant preacher who held forth in fields and barns and preferred emotional tests to cool conviction. New England now saw revealed the old struggle between masses and classes, between town and gown. Against the enthusiasts and ranters the clergy and the college authorities were speedily arrayed. Whitefield decidedly made a tactical blunder when he brought railing accusations against divines like Charles Chauncy (1705–1787), pastor of the First Church in Boston, and Edward Wigglesworth (1693–1765), professor of divinity in Harvard College. On his first visit to the colonies, Whitefield had made some unhappy remarks about the provincial universities as "abodes of darkness, a darkness which could be felt," and about the collegians at Cambridge as "close Pharisees, resting on head knowledge." On his second visit, he added insult to injury by saying that on account of these "unguarded expressions" a few "mistaken, misinformed, good old men were publishing half-penny testimonials against the Lord's Anointed."

The reference here is, among others, to Wigglesworth. The latter, in his reply, does not deign to defend the college against the charge of being a seminary of paganism, but proceeds to attack its defamer: first, because of his manners, next, because of his ways of making money, and lastly, because of the evil fruits of enthusiasm. He grants that an itinerant, who frequently moves from place to place, may have a considerable use in awakening his hearers from a dead and carnal frame. But while such an exhorter may have a manner which is very taking with the people, and a power to raise them to any degree of warmth he pleases, yet in thrusting himself into towns and parishes he destroys peace and order, extorts money from the people, and arouses that pernicious thing—enthusiasm.

This attack was to be expected. The New England clergy, as chosen members of a close corporation, abhorred the disturbers of their professional etiquette and were alarmed at poachers upon their clerical preserves. It not only threatened their social pedestals but it touched their pockets to have these "new lights" taking the people from their work and business and leading them to despise their own ministers.

This aspect of the Whitefield controversy shows that the causes of the opposition were largely social and economic, the same causes which worked—though in the other direction—in the opposition to the establishment of English episcopacy in the land. When the New England fathers had both "pence and power," as Tom Paine would say, it was natural that they should not relish the loss of either, at the expense of high churchmen or low itinerants. But a cause deeper than the economic lay in this outraging of the spirit of the times. This was the age of reason, and the leaders of church and college prided themselves on being of a cool and logical temperament. Hence Wigglesworth's most serious charge against Whitefield is that of irrationality. Enthusiasm, he explains, is a charge of a higher nature than perhaps people are generally aware of. The nature of enthusiasm is to make a man imagine that almost any thought which bears strongly upon his mind is from the Spirit of God, when at the same time he has no proof that it is. In short, to be of an enthusiastic turn is no such innocent weakness as people imagine.

This was Wigglesworth's caveat to the public. Whitefield might have made it out a mere halfpenny testimonial had it not been succeeded by the formidable work of Charles Chauncy. This was the volume entitled *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England* (1743). That state, in the eyes of the pastor of the First Church in Boston, was, in one word, bad. The preaching of "disorderly walkers," especially their well-advertised preaching in other men's parishes, it was argued, would lead, should it become the general practice, to the entire dissolution of our church state. But besides the evil effect upon the body politic, there was that upon the human body. With remarkable acumen, Chauncy points out the abnormalities in the practices of revivalism. The new lights, he recounts, lay very much stress on the "extraordinaries," such as agitations, outcries, swoonings, as though they were some marks of a just conviction of sin. This is their inference, but the real fact is that the influence of awful words and fearful gestures is no other than "a mechanical impression on animal nature." And the same natural explanation holds for the joy of the new lights. It may have its rise in the animal nature, for some have made it evident, by their after lives, that their joy was only a sudden flash, a spark of their own kindling. And when this is expressed among some sorts of people by singing through the streets and in ferryboats, from whatever cause it sprang it is certainly one of the most incongruous ways of expressing religious joy.

It must not be inferred from these strictures that Chauncy was a sour Puritan, averse to people's happiness. The contrary was the truth. His objections lay in the superficial and ephemeral character of the religious emotions among the new lights. Their joy was evidently but the reaction of relief from the fearsome tenets of their preachers. The doctrines of total depravity and eternal damnation struck terror into the heart of the sinner. Now it was by a sort of incantation, by a promise of immediate assurance of salvation, that the itinerant removed this terror. It was, then, in a skilful way that Chauncy met such practices. The places where the revivalists had been at work were called the burnt-over districts. To prevent future conflagrations it was then necessary to start a back-fire. This Chauncy did by removing the unreasoning terror of the old doctrines. But it was necessary to do more. In place of the old faith, which, though a painful thing to hold, men were loath to abandon, there must be brought a new and emollient doctrine. New England's nervous diathesis called for something to soothe the system. This came to be found in the exchange of pessimism for optimism; in the replacing of a dread judge by a benevolent deity, belief in whom would give a steady and lasting satisfaction. By 1784 Chauncy, as opposer of the new lights, had learned his lesson. The heart must be appealed to as well as the head. So his argument is built up from below, benevolence being first defined as "that quality, in the human mind, without which we could not be the objects of another's esteem."

With this hint taken from the learned English divine, Samuel Clarke, his American disciple shows how the old doctrines will dissolve of themselves. Out of the five points of Calvinism two were obviously inconsistent with benevolence. One of these was irresistible grace, as the correlate of irresistible power; the other was eternal damnation, as the correlate of total depravity. One reason, therefore, why Chauncy attacked the ranters was that they were reactionaries. But the cruel old penal view was bound to pass away of itself. Men's minds had entered the deistic drift. The arguments of rationality became the telling arguments.

"Some later writers"—and the remark is evidently directed against Edwards—"might make the infinitely benevolent God, the grand and only efficient, who has so connected a chain of causes that His final result should be the everlasting damnation of a great number of the creatures His hands had formed. . . . But such metaphysical reasoning does not stand the test of experience. There is too much skill and contrivance displayed in the forma-

> tion of this and other globes, too numerous the creatures formed with the capacities of enjoyment to lead to a jaundiced view of the Creator and His attributes. And so many creatures brought into existence according to a settled uniform course of nature, and with a variegated capacity for happiness, preclude the notion of an inscrutable or malevolent deity."[1]

This sort of argumentation reminds one of the discussion of Square and Thwackum on the eternal fitness of things. But with the exception of an occasional hack-writer like Thomas Paine, it was the method generally employed by scholars of the upper class. The method betrays a certain weakness in the middle of Chauncy's work, since it must have gone over the heads of men of the class reached by Whitefield, son of the innkeeper, or by Tennent, promoter of log-cabin learning.

Such an optimistic purview, embracing earth, sun, and moon, dry land and water, became stale, flat and unprofitable. The argument that things as they are, including disease and death, disclose no defect of benevolence in the deity, is not helped by the disclaimer that we "know not the intire plan of heaven and are able to see but a little way into the design of the Deity." This was naught but the old argument of a learned ignorance, much used by the upholders of the scheme of inscrutable decrees.

The strong part of Chauncy's work lies in his attack upon absolute causation. The net of necessity in which the framer of the Berkshire divinity was caught, was escaped by Chauncy through an appeal to common sense.

> "The abettors of this scheme," argues the Bostonian, "must clearly and fully perceive its inconsistency with men being free agents, and that it totally destroys the idea of moral good and evil. . . . The argument may hold for beasts of the field, whose whole conduct is the effect of previous choice and pleasure; but for human beings the unbroken concatenation of causes would deprive them of free agency."

And so would it be with that other prop of Puritanism, the belief in divine intervention.

> An infinitely benevolent being might interpose, as occasion required, to prevent the mischief that would otherwise take place,

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[1] *Benevolence of the Deity*, pp. 32, 53, 55, 61.

but possibly the method of communicating good by general laws, uniformly adhered to, is, in the nature of things, a better adapted one to produce the greatest good, than the other method of interpositions continually repeated.[1]

In a life that nearly spanned the eighteenth century, Chauncy affords an excellent example of the double reaction of the age of reason against the doctrines of irrationalism. His works had these two merits; they undermined the harsh doctrines of Calvinism which the new lights had utilized to strike terror into the hearts of the unthinking; and they afforded a substitute for sentimentalism, for, in place of violent joy, one could gain a placid contentment in the ways and works of Providence.

Another thinker of ability, but of a less noble and elevated style, was Chauncy's younger contemporary, Jonathan Mayhew (1720–1766), a graduate of Harvard in 1744, and best known for his lively attacks upon the Tory doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. Mayhew gained a reputation for bringing a new style and manner into preaching. The son of a father who argued with ingenuity in behalf of human liberty, he was reputed to be a cheerful, liberal man, opposed to the gloomy doctrines of former times. Thus he early declared total depravity both dishonourable to the character of God and a libel on human nature. Mayhew's opposition to the five points of Calvinism was considered so imprudent that, at his ordination over the West Church, the Boston clergy declined the invitation to dine with the council, and one cautious cleric advised his barber not to go and hear such a heretic. Mayhew was really that, for he violently resisted the doctrine of irresistible grace, and entirely rejected the doctrine of the Trinity as taught by the Athanasian and Nicene creeds. In this he pointed the way to the coming Unitarianism, and that almost two generations before the Unitarian manifesto of 1819.

Although on the "new side," Mayhew was opposed to the "new lights." Long before the coming of Whitefield, he had been present at a religious revival in Maine, noticed its extravagance and fanaticism, and the people's violent gestures and shrieks. From this early experience, he came to value

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[1] *Benevolence of the Deity*, pp. 132, 133.

"rational religion" the more highly. The phrase is significant. Upon the arrival of Whitefield in Boston in 1749, Mayhew claimed that the evangelist's hearers were chiefly "of the more illiterate sort," and that the discourse itself was "confused, conceited and enthusiastic."

The old term of reprobation reappears. So, like Chauncy himself, Mayhew offers the same antidote. In place of a God of wrath and terror, he would put the Scriptural God who is represented "under the characters of a father and a king, the wisest and best father, the wisest and best king." This sentiment eventuated in two Thanksgiving sermons *On the Nature, Extent and Perfection of the Divine Goodness*. In these the argument is ingenious. While Chauncy held that wisdom without goodness might be good, Mayhew held that goodness without wisdom might be bad. The political writer now appears in the doctrinal and shows that his God is no easy-going monarch whose goodness is to be considered mere good nature.

> "As we recall certain well intentioned governors," he argues, "who, despite their paternal affection, have wrought prodigious mischief to the State, so we may in some measure conjecture, if we are not afraid even to think, what might be the consequence of boundless power, though accompanied with universal benevolence, but not adequate wisdom, extending itself at will thro-out the universe."[1]

But the argument must not lead to the Calvinistic *cul-de-sac*, whereby there is no other end for punishment, on the part of the king of heaven, save his own glory. As Mayhew in his *Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers* (1750) had remonstrated against the orders from Whitehall, so here he remonstrates against the immutable decrees of the Westminster Confession. His reasoning leads to a literal *reductio ad absurdum.*

> Tho' God is, in the highest sense, an absolute sovereign; yet in *that* ill-sense, he is not certainly an arbitrary Being. . . . For what glory could possibly redound to any being acting unreasonably, or contrary to the dictates of true goodness? It is peculiarly absurd to suppose that He, who accounts *goodness* his glory, should aim at advancing it by *such* a conduct.[2]

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[1] *Divine Goodness*, p. 16.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

With the same caustic irony with which he had flavoured his celebrated *Reflections on the Resistance Made to King Charles I*, Mayhew seeks to prove that the king of heaven, though absolute, is not arbitrary.

"The Earthly Prince," he continues, "may take off the head of the traitor, robber, or murderer, not to gratify his own anger, but for the common good. Contrariwise, punitive justice may be a branch of goodness, but how far from goodness it would be to condemn the bulk of mankind to eternal misery."[1]

The amiable heretic of Massachusetts may here be contrasted with the rigid Calvinist of Connecticut. Edwards, in his dreadful Enfield sermon, implied that the majority of his hearers were in danger of hell fire. Mayhew calmly carried out that implication. He had taken as an appropriate text for his Thanksgiving sermon, "The Lord is good to all." But this, for the sake of the argument, he is willing to change to, "The Lord is good to three-fourths of His creatures, and His tender mercies are over three-fourths of all His works,"—and so on down to the smallest fraction of mankind.

Mayhew is a master of ironic attack. He discloses this in his political discourses, ranging from that against Non-Resistance to that against the Stamp Act. But when it comes to defending his views, he is weak. He declaims effectively against the terrible punishment to be meted out by the Calvinistic judge of all mankind, but, in upholding benevolence, he outdoes the most complacent deist of his day. The first of his Thanksgiving sermons contends that the nature of divine goodness admits of strict application *a priori*. The companion sermon attempts to make that goodness of universal extent, and goes to such extremes as praising December weather in the town of Boston. But though the arguments are forced, these provincial writings have a certain interest as being prototypes of those hollow documents, the Thanksgiving proclamations of governors and presidents.

Through the two Massachusetts divines, Chauncy and Mayhew, one may traverse, by parallel paths, the whole controversy between old and new lights, a controversy beginning with a narrow emotionalism and ending with a rationalistic trend towards universalism. A similar course of thought, but expressed with far higher literary skill, may be pursued in the writings of the Connecticut scholar Samuel Johnson (1696–1772), a graduate of Yale College in 1714, a disciple of George Berkeley when he came to Rhode Island in 1729 and, in 1754, the first head of King's College,[1] New York. Especially does Johnson's *Elementa Philosophica* strike a balance between extremes. Like the *Alciphron* of Berkeley, to whom the *Elements* was dedicated, Johnson's work was directed against both fatalists and enthusiasts. The author's situation was logically fortunate. He was familiar with both "predestination and fanatical principles" and avoided the excesses of each. Brought up in Yale College, under the rigid Rector Clap, he came to dislike the severities of Puritanism. Acquainted with the ways of "that strange fellow Whitefield," he was also opposed to the doctrines of grace, as preached in the revivals. Strict Calvinism, as he contended against Jonathan Dickinson, "reflects dishonour upon the best of Beings"; while this "odd and unaccountable enthusiasm," as he wrote to Berkeley, "rages like an epidemical frenzy" and, by dividing the dissenters, proves to them a source of weakness rather than of strength.

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[1] *Divine Goodness*, p. 38.

Johnson's position was that of a moderate man. Add to that his cheerful and benevolent temper, and he appears one of the most attractive of the colonial thinkers. His education in Connecticut, his trip to England, his friendship with Benjamin Franklin, were all part and parcel of his training in letters. Educated at New Haven at a time when the old lights framed the policy of the college, Johnson, as he says in his autobiography, "after many scruples and an intolerable uneasiness of mind" went over to "that excellent church, the Church of England." This change, which necessitated a public disavowal of his former faith, was due in large measure to browsing in forbidden fields. Before Johnson's graduation, some of the speculations and discoveries of Descartes, Boyle, Locke, and Newton had been heard in the Connecticut colony. But the young men were cautioned against these authors, as well as against a new philosophy which was attracting attention in England. The reason given was that the new thought would corrupt the pure religion of the country and bring in another system of divinity.

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[1] Now Columbia University.

It was characteristic of Johnson, brought up in the darkened chambers of Calvinism, to attempt to obtain a glimpse into the brighter world outside. He had partially done this in reading a rare copy of Lord Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, with the consequence of finding himself "like one at once emerging out of the glimmer of twilight into the full sunshine of open day." For himself this result was reflected in a manuscript entitled *The Travails of the Intellect in the Microcosm and Macrocosm.* For the benefit of others who might be lost in the "palpable obscure" of scholasticism, Johnson next drafted *A General Idea of Philosophy.* In this, philosophy is artfully described as "The Study of Truth and Wisdom, *i. e.* of the Objects and Rules conducing to true Happiness." Such a definition was in marked contrast with the atmosphere of the college of Connecticut, where, as Johnson's earliest biographer put it, "the metaphysics taught was not fit for worms."

In 1731 Johnson had enlarged this "Cyclopaedia of Learning," into an *Introduction to the Study of Philosophy.* The purpose of this tract was to set before young gentlemen a general view of the whole system of learning in miniature, "as geography exhibits a general map of the whole terraqueous globe." The plan of the tract was likewise noteworthy. Instead of making man's chief end to glorify God, it made the happiness of mankind to be God's chief end. In the meantime, for the purpose of obtaining Episcopal ordination, Johnson had made a trip to England. There the young colonial had the distinction of meeting Alexander Pope at his villa, and the English Samuel Johnson. He also visited Oxford and Cambridge universities, from both of which he was later to be honoured with the doctorate of divinity. But, as he subsequently wrote to his son, who made a similar literary pilgrimage, he confessed that, though he liked "to look behind the gay curtain," he preferred "ease and independence in the tranquil vales of America." On his return home, Johnson found neither ease nor tranquillity. Coming back to the land of the blue laws, he felt obliged to preach and write against current Calvinism. Thus one parish sermon was directed against absolute predestination, "with its horror, despair, and gloomy apprehension," while one pamphlet contended that the "Doctrine of Divine Sovereignty as implying God's eternal, arbitrary and absolute determination . . . is contrary to the nature and attributes of God, because inconsistent with the very notion of His being a moral governor of the world."[1] Yet even in this discussion against the Presbyterian Jonathan Dickinson, Johnson exhibits a lightness of touch which relieves the subject of much of its soberness:

> Suppose some unhappy wretch entirely in the power of some arbitrary sovereign prince. Suppose the sovereign had beforehand absolutely resolved he should be hanged, but for the fancy of the thing, or purely to please himself, and gratify a capricious humour of his, commands him to lift a weight of ten thousand pounds and heave it to the distance of a mile, and tells him if he will do this he will give him an estate of ten thousand a year, and if he will not do it he shall certainly be hanged. At the same time he promises and designs him no manner of help or means whereby he might be enabled to accomplish it. It is true he speaks very kindly to him, and gives him several great encouragements expressed just like promises. He tells him if he will be up and doing he will be with him, and that if he will try and strive and pray for help, his labour shall not be in vain. However, the truth of the matter at the bottom is that he never intends to help him, having beforehand absolutely resolved he shall be hanged, and without help he can no more stir the weight than create a world. Now I humbly conceive that this unhappy wretch is under a necessity of disobeying and being hanged.[2]

Johnson's skilfulness was shown better in his constructive than in his controversial writings. If he rendered Calvin absurd by his use of the satirical paraphrase, he rendered Berkeley plausible by the glamour of his style. He was first attracted to the Irish idealism because it supplied him with the strongest arguments against the doctrine of necessity. But when Berkeley himself came to America, the neophyte fell in love with the author and his system at the same time. It was then that Johnson, according to his best biographer, became a convert to the "new principle," which he regarded, when rightly understood, as the true philosophical support of faith. The denial of the absolute existence of matter, a whimsical paradox to the superficial thinker, he found to mean nothing more than a denial of an inconceivable substratum of sensible phenomena. The affirmation of the merely relative existence of sensible things was to him the affirmation of orderly combinations of sensible phenomena, in which our corporeal pains and pleasures were determined by divine ideas that are the archetypes of physical existence.

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[1] *Letter from Aristocles*, 10 September, 1744.

[2] *Letter . . . in defence of Aristocles*, pp. 14–20.

The correspondence between Johnson and Berkeley was the most notable in the history of early American thought. It is a great literary loss that not all of Berkeley's letters have been recovered, for in them, as Johnson wrote, one can gather "that Candour and Tenderness which are so conspicuous in both your writings and conversation." From these *disjecta membra* of Johnson, however, one can reconstruct the very form of that idealism which rescues us from the absurdity of abstract ideas and the gross notion of matter, takes away all subordinate natural causes, and accounts for all appearances by the immediate will of the Supreme Spirit. From Johnson's correspondence, then, one can gather Berkeley's own notions as to archetypes, ectypes, space, spirits and substance. The fragments throw a flood of light upon subjects of high interest to the metaphysician, but the effect upon the mind of the disciple was more important, for through such veritable Berkeleian handbooks as were Johnson's, the seeds of idealism attained a lodgment in the American mind. Fruition did not occur until the time of Emerson, but for sheer literary skill in the presentment of a system deemed impossible by most men of that day, Johnson's *Elements* was remarkable. The good bishop, to whom the volume was dedicated, did not live to see it, but, as was remarked by Berkeley's son, this little book contained the wisdom of the ages and showed the author to be very capable of spreading Berkeley's philosophy.

The spreading of that system, however, was checked by untoward circumstances. When a French critic observed that Anglo-Americans of the late eighteenth century were unfit to receive or to develop true idealism, he probably had in mind the commercialism of the day and the threatening political state of affairs between the colonies and the mother country. Indeed, in both places immaterialism found the times out of joint.

From Philadelphia, then the literary centre of the country, Franklin, the printer of the book, wrote that those parts of the *Elements of Philosophy* that savoured of what is called Berkeleianism are "not well understood here." And in London one can imagine the reception that would be given to a colonial production, from the anecdote recounted of the son of the American Samuel Johnson when he met the great lexicographer. The latter, after speaking harshly of the colonials, exclaimed, "The Americans! What do they know and what do they read?" "They read, Sir, the *Rambler*," was the quick reply.

Like son, like father. The elder Johnson was able to extricate himself from even such difficulties as those offered by the Berkeleian system. He also had the boldness to apply the principles of the new rationalism not only to all men, but to all ages of man. Intellectual light, he argues, is common to all intelligent beings, a Chinese or Japanese, a European or an American. It is also to be found in children. In contrast to such an opinion as that of Jonathan Edwards that infants were "like little vipers," Johnson asserted that we ought to think them of much more importance than we usually apprehend them to be. Considering their achievements in learning not only the mother tongue but the divine visual language, we should apply to them the good trite old saying, *Pueris maxima reverentia debetur.*

Considerations such as these were so contrary to the spirit of the times as to arouse opposition from both sides. To consider children worthy of reverence was opposed to the Puritan view of them as born in sin, and to consider that man as such is assisted by an inward intellectual light "perpetually beaming forth from the great fountain of all light" ran counter to the common sense of the day. Thus William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia, who held the place once offered by Franklin to Johnson, argues against these very issues as presented in the *Elements.* "Our author," he explains, "from a sincere zeal to vindicate the rights of the Deity, and a just abhorrence of the absurd system of the materialists, has gone farther towards the opposite extreme than will be justified by some philosophers."[1] The extreme here referred to was, of course, Berkeleianism, against which the Philadelphian argues in substance as follows: The Dean, while at Newport, might have been justified in putting into his *Minute Philosopher* rural descriptions exactly copied from those charming landscapes that presented themselves to his eye in the delightful island at the time he was writing,—that was all very well; but for the Dean's disciple to attempt to introduce into the schools and infant seminaries in America this unadulterated Irish idealism was another thing. Doctor Johnson, explains his critic, only pretends to teach logic and moral philosophy; his logic and his morality are very different from ours. There is no matter, by his scheme; no ground of moral obligation. Life is a dream. All is from the immediate impressions of the Deity. Metaphysical distinctions which no men, and surely no boys, can understand . . . will do much to prevent the fixing of virtue on her true bottom.[1]

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[1] Preface to the *Elements.*

Such was the ironical fate that befell Johnson. Though he had done good service against the enthusiasts, and had written the best ethical treatise of colonial times, he was nevertheless charged with being fantastical, and his work with undermining morality.

A similar fate befell the last of our colonial thinkers, John Woolman (1720–1772), the Quaker, a sort of provincial Piers Plowman, whose visions of reform were far ahead of his day. In his *Journal*, the humble tailor of New Jersey takes up, in order, the evils of war and of lotteries, of negro slavery and excessive labour, of the selling of rum to the Indians, of cruelty to animals. Moreover, like the visions of the Plowman, Woolman's work might be called a contribution to the history of English mysticism. Whittier described the *Journal* as "a classic of the inner life"; Channing, as "beyond comparison the sweetest and purest autobiography in the language"; while Charles Lamb urged his readers to get the writings of Woolman "by heart."

These writings are in marked contrast to the controversial spirit of their time. They avoid entangling alliances with either the old or new divinity, and have little to do with the endless quarrels between Calvinists and Arminians. In place of doctrine and formal creed come "silent frames" and the exercises of the interior or hidden life. The contrast is like that portrayed by Woolman himself when he said that "while many parts of the world groaned under the heavy calamities of war, our habitation remains quiet, and our land fruitful."

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[1] Letter to the Rev. Richard Peters, July 18, 1754, from the original in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

In Woolman, then, we have the fruits of quietism as contrasted with the fruits of controversy. Duties rather than doctrine are emphasized, and all with that air of innocent simplicity held so desirable by the Society of Friends. Because of his candour and his fervour, Woolman might be called a socialist unconscious of his socialism, except for the fact that his efforts were exerted in a private capacity, and that he offended not even those with whom he laboured—soldiers, slave owners, dealers in goods which were to be looked upon as contraband to Christianity. He accomplished his results upon the Quaker principle of natural sensibility. In marked contrast to the Calvinist principle of the depravity of the human heart, he argues upon the possibilities of the human mind towards good:—"that as the mind was moved, by an inward principle, to love God as an invisible, incomprehensible being; by the same principle it was moved to love Him in all His manifestations in the visible world."[1]

Armed with this gentle logic, he began to set down, not his programme of reforms, but a recital of certain "heavenly openings" in respect to the care and providence of the Almighty over his creatures. The first of those creatures for whom Woolman was concerned was a slave. Here there arose a conflict between the logic of compassion and the logic of commerce, for when his employer obliged him to write a bill of sale for a poor negro woman, he was much afflicted in mind. As was his wont, Woolman now began to gather reasons for his feeling of uneasiness. That which was against conscience he now finds to be against logical conviction, especially when in a journey to the Southern provinces he meets with slave owners. To their arguments in favour of fetching negroes from Africa for slaves because of the wretchedness occasioned by their intestine wars, he replies that liberty is the natural right of all men equally. But this general principle—a commonplace of the age of reason—is not so effective as one more particular:

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[1] *Journal*, p. 9.

> There is great odds on what principle we act. If compassion on the Africans, in regard to their domestic trouble, were the real motives of our purchasing them, that spirit of tenderness being attended to, would incite us to use them kindly. But to say they live unhappy in Africa is far from being an argument in our favour; our real views in purchasing them are to advance ourselves, and, while our buying captives taken in war animates those parties to push on the war and increase desolation amongst them, we too are putting upon our shoulders a burthensome stone, a burden that will grow heavier and heavier till times change in a way disagreeable to us.[1]

Upon this argument, presented with a kindly shrewdness, many of Woolman's slave-owning hearers looked serious. It was a prophecy of the irrepressible conflict between slaveholders and free-holders, and that over a century before that conflict came. So the prospect of a road lying open to degeneracy in some parts of this newly settled land of America, now drove Woolman to publish, and at his own expense, *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes Recommended to the Professors of Christianity of every Denomination* (1754–62). The author is troubled with a weight of distress because, instead of the spirit of meekness, gentleness, and heavenly wisdom, a spirit of fierceness and a love of dominion too generally prevails. Yet it is not criticism, but compassion, that furnishes Woolman with his strongest lever against that great building "raised by degrees, from small beginnings in error." In a series of indirect questions, the logician of the heart brings the matter home. Drawing upon contemporary accounts of the slave trade, he argues in this fashion:

> Should we consider ourselves present as spectators, when cruel negroes privately catch innocent children, who are employed in the fields; hear their lamentable cries, under the most terrifying apprehensions; or should we look upon it as happening in our own families, having our children carried off by savages, we must needs own, that such proceedings are contrary to the nature of Christianity.[2]

In the light of such disclosures, Woolman might have attacked the accursed institution with directness and bitterness, but his method is ever indirect, ever imbued with a sweet reasonableness.

[1] *Journal*, p. 60.

[2] *Keeping of Negroes*, p. 317.

> "The English government," he continues, "hath been commended by candid foreigners for the disuse of racks and tortures, so much practiced in some states; but this multiplying slaves now leads to it; for where people exact hard labour of others, without a suitable reward, and are resolved to continue in that way, severity to such who oppose them becomes the consequence. . . . These things are contrary to the true order of kind providence. Admit that the first negro man and his wife did as much business as their master and mistress, and that the children of the slaves have done some more than their young masters. . . . It follows, that in equity these negroes have a right to a part of this increase. . . . Again, if we seriously consider that liberty is the right of innocent men; that the Almighty God is a refuge for the oppressed; that in reality we are indebted to them . . . to retain them in perpetual servitude, without present cause for it, will produce effects, in the event, more grievous than setting them free would do."[1]

And so in a final passage breathing the very spirit of the Society of Friends, the Quaker liberator presents the fundamental objection to the keeping of the poor blacks in servitude:

> There is a principle, which is pure, placed in the human mind, which in different places and ages hath had different names; it is, however, pure and proceeds from God.—It is deep, and inward, confined to no forms of religion, nor excluded from any, where the heart stands in perfect sincerity. In whomsoever this takes root, and grows, of what nation soever, they become brethren.[2]

[1] *Keeping of Negroes*, p. 298.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

CHAPTER VI

Franklin

IN a respectful and indeed laudatory notice of Franklin for *The Edinburgh Review* of July, 1806, Lord Jeffrey employed the case of the "uneducated tradesman of America" to support his contention that "regular education is unfavourable to vigour or originality of understanding." Franklin attained his eminence, so runs the argument, without academical instruction, with only casual reading, without the benefit of association with men of letters, and "in a society where there was no relish and no encouragement for literature." This statement of Franklin's educational opportunities is manifestly inadequate; but it so pleasantly flatters our long-standing pride in our self-made men that we are loath to challenge it. The hero presented to the schoolboy and preserved in popular tradition is still an "uneducated tradesman of America": a runaway Boston printer walking up Market Street in Philadelphia with his three puffy rolls; directing his fellow shopkeepers the way to wealth; sharply inquiring of extravagant neighbours whether they have not paid too much for their whistle; flying his kite in a thunderstorm; by a happy combination of curiosity and luck making important contributions to science; and, to add the last lustre to his name, by a happy combination of industry and frugality making his fortune. This picturesque and racy figure is obviously a product of provincial America, the first great Yankee with all the strong lineaments of the type: hardness, shrewdness, ingenuity, practical sense, frugality, industry, self-reliance. The conception of the man here suggested is perhaps sound enough so far as it goes, being derived mainly from facts supplied by Franklin himself in the one book through which he has secured an eternal life in literature. But the popular notion of his personality thus derived is incomplete, because the *Autobiography*, ending at the year 1757, contains no record of the thirty-three years which developed a competent provincial into an able, cultivated, and imposing man of the world.

The Franklin now discoverable in the ten volumes of his complete works is one of the most widely and thoroughly cultivated men of his age. He had not, to be sure, a university training, but he had what serves quite as well: sharp appetite and large capacity for learning, abundance of books, extensive travel, important participation in great events, and association through a long term of years with the most eminent men of three nations. In touch as printer and publisher with the classic and current literature produced at home and imported from abroad, he becomes in Philadelphia almost as good a "Queen Anne's man" as Swift or Defoe. His scientific investigations bring him into correspondence with fellow-workers in England, France, Germany, Italy, Holland, and Spain. Entering upon public life, he is forced into co-operation or conflict with the leading politicians, diplomats, and statesmen of Europe. In his native land he has known men like Cotton Mather, Whitefield, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin West, Ezra Stiles, Noah Webster, Jay, Adams, Jefferson, and Washington. In England, where his affections strike such deep root that he considers establishing there his permanent abode, he is in relationship, more or less intimate, with Mandeville, Paine, Priestley, Price, Adam Smith, Robertson, Hume, Joseph Banks, Bishop Watson, Bishop Shipley, Lord Kames, Lord Shelburne, Lord Howe, Burke, and Chatham. Among Frenchmen he numbers on his list of admiring friends Vergennes, Lafayette, Mirabeau, Turgot, Quesnay, La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Condorcet, Lavoisier, Buffon, D'Alembert, Robespierre, and Voltaire. It is absurd to speak of one who has been subjected to the moulding of such forces as a product of the provinces. All Europe has wrought upon and metamorphosed the Yankee printer. The man whom Voltaire kisses is a statesman, a philosopher, a friend of mankind, and a favourite son of the eighteenth century. With no softening of his patriotic fibre or loss of his Yankee tang, he has acquired all the common culture and most of the master characteristics of the Age of Enlightenment—up to the point where the French Revolution injected into it a drop of madness: its emancipation from authority, its regard for reason and nature, its social consciousness, its progressiveness, its tolerance, its cosmopolitanism, and its bland philanthropy. Now this man deserves his large place in our literary history not so much by virtue of his writings, which had little immediate influence upon *belles-lettres*, as by virtue of his acts and ideas, which helped liberate and liberalize America. To describe his most important work is to recite the story of his life.

In reviewing his own career Franklin does not dwell on the fact that he who was to stand before kings had emerged from a tallow chandler's shop. To his retrospective eye there was nothing miraculous nor inexplicable in his origin. On the contrary he saw and indicated very clearly the sources of his talents and the external impulses that gave them direction. Born in Boston on 6 January, 1706, he inherited from his long-lived parents, Josiah and Abiah Folger Franklin, a rugged physical and mental constitution which hardly faltered through the hard usage of eighty-four years. He recognized and profited by his father's skill in drawing and music, his "mechanical genius," his "understanding and solid judgment in prudential matters, both in private and publick affairs," his admirable custom of having at his table, "as often as he could, some sensible friend or neighbour to converse with," always taking care "to start some ingenious or useful topic for discourse, which might tend to improve the minds of his children." Benjamin's formal schooling was begun when he was eight years old and abandoned, together with the design of making him a clergyman, when he was ten. He significantly remarks, however, that he does not remember a time when he could not read; and the subsequent owner of one of the best private libraries in America was as a mere child an eager collector of books. For the two years following his removal from school he was employed in his father's business. When he expressed a firm disinclination to become a tallow chandler, his father attempted to discover his natural bent by taking him about to see various artisans at their work. Everything that Franklin touched taught him something; and everything that he learned, he used. Though his tour of the trades failed to win him to any mechanical occupation,

> it has ever since been a pleasure to me [he says] to see good workmen handle their tools; and it has been useful to me, having learnt so much by it as to be able to do little odd jobs myself in my house . . . and to construct little machines for my experiments, while the intention of making the experiment was fresh and warm in my mind.

Throughout his boyhood and youth he apparently devoured every book that he could lay hands upon. He went through his father's shelves of "polemic divinity"; read abundantly in Plutarch's *Lives;* acquired Bunyan's works "in separate little volumes," which he later sold to buy Burton's *Historical Collections;* received an impetus towards practical improvements from Defoe's *Essay upon Projects* and an impetus towards virtue from Mather's *Essays to do Good.* Before he left Boston he had his mind opened to free speculation and equipped for logical reasoning by Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, the Port Royal *Art of Thinking*, Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, and the works of Shaftesbury and Collins.

Franklin found the right avenue for a person of his "bookish inclination" when his brother James, returning from England in 1717 with a press and letters, set up in Boston as a printer, and proceeded to the publication of *The Boston Gazette*, 1719, and *The New England Courant*, 1721. Benjamin, aged twelve, became his apprentice. It can hardly be too much emphasized that this was really an inspiring "job." It made him stand at a very early age full in the wind of local political and theological controversy. It forced him to use all his childish stock of learning and daily stimulated him to new acquisitions. It put him in touch with other persons, young and old, of bookish inclination. They lent him books which kindled his poetic fancy to the pitch of composing occasional ballads in the Grub Street style, which his brother printed, and had him hawk about town. His father discountenanced these effusions, declaring that "verse-makers were generally beggars"; but coming upon his son's private experiments in prose, he applied the right incentive by pointing out where the work "fell short in elegance of expression, in method, and in perspicuity." "About this time," says Franklin in a familiar paragraph, "I met with an odd volume of the *Spectator.*"

Anticipating Dr. Johnson's advice by half a century, he gave his days and nights to painstaking study and imitation of Addison till he had mastered that style—"familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious"—which several generations of English essayists have sought to attain. All the world has heard how Franklin's career as a writer began with an anonymous contribution stealthily slipped under the door of his brother's printing-house at night, and in the morning approved for publication by his brother's circle of "writing friends." Professor Smyth[1] inclined to identify this contribution with the first of fourteen humorous papers with Latin mottoes signed "Silence Dogood," which appeared fortnightly in *The New England Courant* from March to October, 1722. In this year Benjamin was in charge of the *Courant* during his brother's imprisonment for printing matter offensive to the Assembly; and when, on repetition of the offence, the master was forbidden to publish his journal, it was continued in the name of the apprentice. In this situation James became jealous and overbearing, and Benjamin became insubordinate. When it grew evident that there was not room enough in Boston for them both, the younger brother left his indentures behind, and in 1723 made his memorable flight to Philadelphia.

Shortly after his arrival in the Quaker city, he found employment with the second printer in Philadelphia, Samuel Keimer, a curious person who kept the Mosaic law. In 1724, encouraged by the facile promises of Governor Keith, Franklin went to England in the expectation that letters of credit and recommendation from his patron would enable him to procure a printing outfit. Left in the lurch by the governor, he served for something over a year in two great London printing-houses, kept free-thinking and rather loose company, and, in refutation of Wollaston's *Religion of Nature*, upon which he happened to be engaged in the composing-room, published in 1725 his suppressed tract *On Liberty and Necessity*. Returning to Philadelphia in 1726, he re-entered the employ of Keimer; in

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[1] *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin.* Collected and edited by Albert Henry Smyth. New York, 1907. Vol. II, p. I. The Dogood Papers were claimed by Franklin in the first draft of his *Autobiography*, and they have been long accredited to him; but they were first included in his collected works by Professor Smyth.

1728 formed a brief partnership with Hugh Meredith; and in 1730 married and set up for himself. In 1728 he founded the famous Junto Club for reading, debating, and reforming the world—an institution which developed into a powerful organ of political influence. Shortage of money in the province prompted him to the composition of his *Modest Inquiry into the Nature and Necessity of Paper Currency* (1729), a service for which his friends in the Assembly rewarded him by employing him to print the money—"a very profitable job and a great help to me." Forestalled by Keimer in a project for launching a newspaper, Franklin contributed in 1728–9 to the rival journal, published by Bradford, a series of sprightly "Busy-Body" papers in the vein of the periodical essayists. Keimer was forced to sell out; and Franklin acquired from him the paper known from 2 October, 1729, as *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. To this he contributed, besides much miscellaneous matter, such pieces as the *Dialogue between Philocles and Horatio concerning Virtue and Pleasure*, the letters of "Anthony Afterwit" and "Alice Addertongue," *A Meditation on a Quart Mug*, and *A Witch Trial at Mount Holly*. In 1732 he began to issue the almanacs containing the wit and wisdom of "Poor Richard," a homely popular philosopher, who is only the incarnation of common sense, and who is consequently not, as has been carelessly assumed, to be identified with his creator.

By the time he was thirty Franklin gave promise of becoming, by a gradual expansion of his useful activities, the leading Pennsylvanian. In 1736 he was chosen clerk of the General Assembly, and in the following year was appointed postmaster of Philadelphia. He made both these offices useful to his printing business and to his newspaper. In compensation, he used his newspaper and his business influence to support his measures for municipal improvements, among the objects of which may be mentioned street-sweeping, paving, a regular police force, a fire company, a hospital, and a public library. As his business prospered, he expanded it by forming partnerships with his promising workmen and sending them with printing-presses into other colonies. In 1741 he experimented with a monthly publication, *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle for all the British Colonies in America;* this monthly, notable as the second issued in America, expired with the sixth number. In 1742 he invented the stove of which he published a description in 1744 as *An Account of the New Invented Pennsylvanian Fire Places.* In 1743 he drew up proposals for an academy which eventually became the University of Pennsylvania, and in 1744 he founded the American Philosophical Society. In 1746 he witnessed Spence's electrical experiments in Boston, bought the apparatus, and repeated the experiments in Philadelphia, where interest in the new science was further stimulated that year by a present of a Leyden jar given to the Library Company by the English experimenter Peter Collinson. To this English friend Franklin made extended reports of his earlier electrical investigations in the form of letters which Collinson published in London in 1751 with the title *Experiments and Observations in Electricity, made at Philadelphia in America, by Mr. Benjamin Franklin.* In 1752 he showed the identity of lightning and electricity by his kite experiment, and invented the lightning rod. In 1748, being assured of a competency, he had turned over his business to his foreman David Hall, and purposed devoting the rest of his life to philosophical inquiries. But he had inextricably involved himself in the affairs of his community, which, as soon as it found him at leisure, "laid hold" of him, as he says, for its own purposes—"every part of the civil government, and almost at the same time, imposing some duty upon me." He was made a justice of the peace, member of the common council, and alderman, and was chosen burgess to represent the city of Philadelphia in the General Assembly. In 1753 he was appointed jointly with William Hunter to exercise the office of postmaster-general of America. In 1754 as a member of the Pennsylvania commission he laid before the colonial congress at Albany the "Plan of Union" adopted by the commissioners. In 1755 he displayed remarkable energy, ability, and public spirit in providing transportation for General Braddock's ill-fated expedition against the French; and in the following year he himself took command of a volunteer military organization for the protection of the north-west frontier. In 1757 he was sent to England to present the long-standing grievances of the Pennsylvania Assembly against the proprietors for obstructing legislation designed to throw upon them a fair share of the expense of government.

Though Franklin's political mission was not wholly successful, his residence in England from 1757 to 1762 was highly profitable to him. It developed his talent as a negotiator of public business with strangers; it enabled him to consider British colonial policies from English points of view; and it afforded him many opportunities for general self-improvement. After a fruitless effort to obtain satisfaction from the representatives of the Penn family, dismissing as impractical the hope of procuring for Pennsylvania a royal charter, he appealed to the Crown to exempt the Assembly from the influence of proprietary instructions and to make the proprietary estates bear a more equitable proportion of the taxes. To get the Assembly's case before the public, he collaborated with an unknown hand on *An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania*, published in 1759. The result was a compromise which in the circumstances he regarded as a victory. His interest in the wider questions of imperial policy he exhibited in 1760 by aspersing the advocates of a hasty and inconclusive peace with France in his stinging little skit, *Of the Meanes of disposing the Enemies to Peace*,[1] which he presented as an extract from the work of a Jesuit historian. In 1760, also, he was joint author with Richard Jackson of a notably influential argument for the retention of Canada, *The Interest of Great Britain Considered with Regard to Her Colonies;* to which was appended his *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries*, etc. In the intervals of business, he sat for his portrait, attended the theatre, played upon the harmonica, experimented with electricity and heat, made a tour of the Low Countries, visited the principal cities of England and Scotland, received honorary degrees from the universities, and enjoyed the society of Collinson, Priestley, Price, Hume, Adam Smith, Robertson, and Kames. He returned to America in the latter part of 1762. In 1763 he made a 1600-mile tour of the northern provinces to inspect the postoffices. In the following year he was again in the thick of Pennsylvania politics, working with the party in the Assembly which sought to have the proprietary government of the province replaced by a royal charter. In support of this movement he published in 1764 his *Cool Thoughts*

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[1] See *Writings*, ed. Smyth, Vol. IV, pp. 89–95.

on the Present Situation of our Public Affairs and his *Preface to the Speech of Joseph Galloway*, a brilliant and blasting indictment of the proprietors, Thomas and Richard Penn.

In the fall of 1764 Franklin was sent again to England by the Assembly to petition for a royal charter and to express the Assembly's views with regard to Grenville's Stamp Act, then impending. On 11 July, 1765, after the obnoxious measure had been passed by an overwhelming majority, Franklin wrote to Charles Thomson:

> Depend upon it, my good neighbour, I took every step in my power to prevent the passing of the Stamp Act. . . . But the Tide was too strong against us. The nation was provoked by American Claims of Independence, and all Parties joined in resolving by this act to settle the point. We might as well have hindered the sun's setting.

This letter and one or two others of about the same date express a patient submission to the inevitable. As soon, however, as Franklin was fully apprised of the fierce flame of opposition which the passage of the act had kindled in the colonies, he caught the spirit of his constituents and threw himself sternly into the struggle for its repeal. In 1766 he underwent his famous examination before the House of Commons on the attitude of the colonies towards the collection of the new taxes. The report of this examination, which was promptly published, is one of the most interesting and impressive pieces of dramatic dialogue produced in the eighteenth century. After the repeal, Franklin received recognition at home in the shape of new duties: in 1768 he was appointed agent for Georgia; in 1769, for New Jersey; in 1770, for Massachusetts. In the summer of 1766 he visited Germany; the following summer he visited Paris; and he was in France again for a month in 1769. His pen in these years was employed mainly in correspondence and in communications to the newspapers, in which he pointedly set forth the causes which threatened a permanent breach between the mother country and the colonies. In 1773 he published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* two little masterpieces of irony which Swift might have been pleased to sign: *An Edict by the King of Prussia* and *Rules by which a Great Empire may be Reduced to a Small*

One. In 1774, in consequence of his activity in exposing Governor Hutchinson's proposals for the military intimidation of Massachusetts, Franklin was subjected before the Privy Council to virulent and scurrilous abuse from Attorney-General Wedderburn. This onslaught it was, accentuated by his dismissal from the office of postmaster-general, which began to curdle in Franklin his sincere long-cherished hope of an ultimate reconciliation. It is a curiously ominous coincidence that in this year of his great humiliation he sent with a letter of recommendation to his son-in-law in Philadelphia one Thomas Paine, an obscure Englishman of whiggish temper, two years later to become the fieriest advocate of American independence. In disgrace with the Court, Franklin lingered in England to exhaust the last possibilities of amicable adjustment: petitioning the king, conferring with Burke and Chatham, and curiously arranging for secret negotiations with the go-betweens of the Ministry over the chessboard of Lord Howe's sister. He sailed from England in March, 1775, half-convinced that the Ministry were bent upon provoking an open rebellion. When he arrived in Philadelphia, he heard what had happened at Lexington and Concord. On 5 July, 1775, he wrote a letter to an English friend of thirty years' standing, William Strahan, then a member of Parliament; it was shortened like a Roman sword and sharpened to this point:

> You and I were long Friends:—You are now my Enemy,—and I am
>
> Yours,
>
> B. FRANKLIN.

As Franklin was sixty-nine years old in 1775, he might fairly have retreated to his library, and have left the burden of the future state to younger hands. He had hardly set foot on shore, however, before the Pennsylvania Assembly elected him delegate to the first Continental Congress, where his tried sagacity was enlisted in organizing the country's political, economic, and military resources for the great conflict. On 7 July, 1775, the old man wrote to Priestley:

> My time was never more fully employed. In the morning at six, I am at the Committee of Safety, appointed by the Assembly

to put the province in a state of defence; which committee holds till near nine, when I am at the Congress, and that sits till after four in the afternoon.

In the period slightly exceeding a year previous to his departure for France, he served on innumerable committees of the Congress, was made Postmaster-General of the colonies, presided over the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania, was sent on a mission to Canada, assisted in drafting the Declaration of Independence, and signed it.

In October, 1776, he sailed for France on a commission of the Congress to negotiate a treaty of alliance, which was concluded in February, 1778, after the surrender of Burgoyne had inspired confidence in the prospects of the American arms. In September, 1778, he was appointed plenipotentiary to the Court of France. Clothed with large powers, he transacted in the next few years an almost incredible amount of difficult business for his country. He obtained from the French government the repeated loans which made possible the carrying on of a long war; he made contracts for clothing and ammunition; he dissuaded or recommended to Congress foreign applicants for commissions in the colonial army; he arranged exchanges of prisoners-of-war; he equipped and to some extent directed the operations of privateers; he supplied information to many Europeans emigrating to America; he negotiated treaties of amity and commerce with Sweden and Prussia. With all this engrossing business on his hands, he found time to achieve an immense personal popularity. He was not merely respected as a masterly diplomat; he was lionized and idolized as the great natural philosopher, the august champion of liberty, and the friend of humanity. In the press of public affairs, never losing interest in scientific matters, he served on a royal French commission to investigate Mesmerism; sent to his foreign correspondents ingenious geological and meteorological conjectures; and transmitted to the Royal Society reports on French experiments in aeronautics. He entertained with a certain lavishness at his house in Passy; and he was a frequent diner-out, adored for his wit and good humour in the intimate coteries of Mme. Helvetius and Mme. Brillon. He set up for the amusement of himself and his friends a private press in Passy, on which he printed a number of *bagatelles* of an accomplished and charming levity: *The Ephemera* (1778), *The Morals of Chess* (1779), *The Whistle* (1779), *The Dialogue between Franklin and the Gout* (1780.) In 1784 he resumed work on his unfinished autobiography, and published *Advice to such as would remove to America* and *Remarks Concerning the Savages of North America.* In his residence in France he began seriously to feel the siege of gout, the stone, and old age. In 1781, in reply to repeated supplications for leave to go home and die, Congress had appointed him a member of the commission to negotiate a treaty of peace between England and the United States. This last great task was completed in 1785. In midsummer of that year he said a regretful farewell to his affectionate French friends, received the king's portrait set in four hundred diamonds, and in one of the royal litters was carried down to his point of embarkation at Havre de Grace.

Franklin arrived in Philadelphia in September, 1785, resolved to set his house in order. He was soon made aware that, like the hero in *The Conquest of Granada*, he had not "leisure yet to die." He was overwhelmed with congratulations; or, as he put it with characteristic modesty of phrase in a letter to his English friend Mrs. Hewson: "I had the happiness of finding my family well, and of being very kindly received by my Country folk." In the month after his arrival he was elected President of the State of Pennsylvania; and the honour was thrust upon him again in 1786 and in 1787. In a letter of 14 November, 1785, he says:

> I had not firmness enough to resist the unanimous desire of my country folks; and I find myself harnessed again in their service for another year. They engrossed the prime of my life. They have eaten my flesh, and seem resolved now to pick my bones.

In 1787 he was chosen a delegate to the convention to frame the Constitution of the United States—an instrument which he deemed not perfect, yet as near perfection as the joint wisdom of any numerous body of men could bring it, handicapped by "their prejudices, their passions, their local interests, and their selfish views." In 1789, as President of the Abolition Society, Franklin signed a memorial against slavery which was laid before the House of Representatives; and on 23 March, 1790, less than a month before his death, he wrote for *The Federal Gazette* an ironical justification of the enslaving of Christians by African Mohammedans—quite in the vein of the celebrated *Edict of the King of Prussia.* As the shadows thickened about him, he settled his estate, paid his compliments to his friends, and departed, on the seventeenth day of April, 1790, in his eighty-fifth year.

In the matter of religion Franklin was distinctly a product of the eighteenth-century enlightenment. He took his direction in boyhood and early manhood from deistical writers like Pope, Collins, and Shaftesbury. At various periods of his life he drew up articles of belief, which generally included recognition of one God, the providential government of the world, the immortality of the soul, and divine justice. To profess faith in as much religion as this he found emotionally gratifying, socially expedient, and conformable to the common sense of mankind. He would have subscribed without hesitation to both the positive and negative dogmas of the *religion civile* formulated by Rousseau in the *Contrat Social.* In his later years he was in sympathetic relations with Paine, Price, and Priestley. He was, however, of a fortunately earlier generation than these English "heretics," and certain other circumstances enabled him to keep the temper of his heterodoxy sweet while theirs grew acidulous, and to walk serenely in ways which for them were embittered by the *odium theologicum.* His earlier advent upon the eighteenth-century scene made possible the unfolding and comfortable settlement of his religious ideas before deism had clearly allied itself with political radicalism and edged its sword for assault upon inspired Bible and established church as powers federate with political orthodoxy in upholding the ancient régime. Among the diverse denominational bodies in Pennsylvania his perfectly genuine tolerance and his unfailing tact helped him to maintain a friendly neutrality between parties which were far from friendly. Like Lord Chesterfield, he sincerely believed in the decency and propriety of going to church; and he went himself when he could endure the preachers. He advised his daughter to go constantly, "whoever preaches." He made pecuniary contributions to all the leading denominations in Philadelphia; respectfully acknowledged the good features of each; and undertook to unite in his own creed the common and, as he thought, the essential features of all. Man of the world as he was, he enjoyed the warm friendship of good Quakers, good Presbyterians, Whitefield, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and his French abbés. His abstention from theological controversy was doubtless due in part to a shrewd regard for his own interest and influence as a business man and a public servant; but it was due in perhaps equal measure to his profound indifference to metaphysical questions unrelated to practical conduct. "Emancipated" in childhood and unmolested in the independence of his mind, he reached maturity without that acrimony of free thought incident to those who attain independence late and have revenges to take. He was consistently opposed to the imposition of religious tests by constitutional authority. But in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 he offered a motion in favour of holding daily prayers before the deliberations of the assembly, for, as he declared, "the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this Truth, *that* God *governs in the Affairs of Men*." With his progress in eminence and years, he seems to have been somewhat strengthened in Cicero's conviction that so puissant a personality as his own could not utterly perish, and he derived a kind of classical satisfaction from the reflection that this feeling was in concurrence with the common opinions of mankind. A few weeks before his death he admitted, in a remarkable letter to Ezra Stiles, a doubt as to the divinity of Jesus; but he remarked with his characteristic tranquillity that he thought it "needless to busy myself with it now, when I expect soon an Opportunity of knowing the Truth with less Trouble." Not elate, like Emerson, yet quite unawed, this imitator of Jesus and Socrates walked in this world and prepared for his ease in Zion.

Franklin set himself in youth to the study of "moral perfection," and the work which only great public business prevented his leaving as his literary monument was to have been a treatise on the "art of virtue." His merits, however, in both the theory and practice of the moral life have been seriously called in question. It is alleged that his standards were low and that he did not live up to them. It must be conceded on the one hand that he had a natural son who became governor of New Jersey, and on the other hand that industry and frugality, which most of us place among the minor, he placed among the major virtues. When one has referred the "*errata*" of his adolescence to animal spirits, "free thinking," and bad company; and when one has explained certain laxities of his maturity by alluding to the indulgent temper of the French society in which he then lived; one may as well candidly admit that St. Francis made chastity a more conspicuous jewel in his crown of virtues than did Dr. Franklin. And when one has pointed out that the prudential philosophy of *Poor Richard's Almanac* was rather a collection of popular wisdom than an original contribution; and when one has called attention to the special reasons for magnifying economic virtues in a community of impecunious colonists and pioneers; one may as well frankly acknowledge that there is nothing in the precepts of the great printer to shake a man's egotism like the shattering paradoxes of the Beatitudes nor like the *Christian Morals* of Sir Thomas Browne to make his heart elate. Franklin had nothing of what pietists call a "realizing sense" of sin or of the need for mystical regeneration and justification—faculties so richly present in his contemporary Jonathan Edwards. His cool calculating reason, having surveyed the fiery battleground of the Puritan conscience, reported that things are properly forbidden because hurtful, not hurtful because forbidden. Guided by this utilitarian principle, he simplified his religion and elaborated his morality. His system included much more than maxims of thrift and prudent self-regard, and to insinuate that he set up wealth as the *summum bonum* is a sheer libel. He commended diligence in business as the means to a competency; he commended a competency as a safeguard to virtue; and he commended virtue as the prerequisite to happiness. The temple that he reared to Moral Perfection was built of thirteen stones: temperance, silence, order, resolution, frugality, industry, sincerity, justice, moderation, cleanliness, tranquillity, chastity, and humility—the last added on the advice of a Quaker. He wrought upon the structure with the method of a monk and he recorded his progress with the regularity of a bookkeeper. The presiding spirit in the edifice, which made it something more than a private oratory, was a rational and active benevolence towards his fellow-mortals in every quarter of the earth. The wide-reaching friendliness in Franklin may be distinguished in two ways from the roseate humanitarian enthusiasm in the Savoyard Vicar. It was not begotten by a theory of "natural goodness" nor fostered by millennial expectations, but was born of sober experience with the utility of good will in establishing satisfactory and fruitful relations among men. It found expression not in rhetorical periods but in numberless practical means and measures for ameliorating the human lot. By no mystical intuition but by the common light of reason the "prudential philosopher" discovered and acted upon the truth that the greatest happiness that can come to a man in this world is to devote the full strength of body and mind to the service of his fellow-men. Judged either by his principles or by his performance, Franklin's moral breadth and moral elevation have been absurdly underestimated.

It is perhaps in the field of politics that Franklin exhibits the most marked development of his power and his vision. A realistic inductive thinker, well versed in the rudiments of his subject long before the revolutionary theorists handled it, he was not rendered by any preconception of abstract rights indocile to the lessons of his immense political experience. He formulated his conceptions in the thick of existing conditions, and always with reference to what was expedient and possible as well as to what was desirable. He served his apprenticeship in the Philadelphia Junto Club, which at its inception was little more than a village improvement society, but which threw out branches till it became a power in the province, and a considerable factor in the affairs of the colonies. In this association he learned the importance of co-operation, mastered the tactics of organization, practised the art of getting propaganda afoot, and discovered the great secret of converting private desires into public demands. In proposing in 1754 his plan for a union of the colonies he was applying to larger units the principle of co-operative action by which he had built up what we might call to-day his "machine" in Pennsylvania. Writers like Milton and Algernon Sidney had reenforced his natural inclination towards liberal forms of government. But he had in too large measure the instincts and the ideas of a leader, and he had too much experience with the conflicting prejudices and the resultant compromises of popular assemblies, to feel any profound reverence for the "collective wisdom" of the people. "If all officers appointed by governors were always men of merit," he wrote in his *Dialogue Concerning the Present State of Affairs in Pennsylvania*, "it would be wrong ever to hazard a popular election." That his belief in popular representation was due as much to his sense of its political expediency as to his sense of its political justice is suggested by a passage in his letter on the imposition of direct taxes addressed to Governor Shirley, 18 December, 1754: "In matters of general concern to the people, and especially where burthens are to be laid upon them, it is of use to consider, as well what they will be apt to think and say, as what they ought to think." His sojourn in England widened his horizons, but not beyond the bounds of his nationality. As agent, he felt himself essentially a colonial Englishman pleading for the extension of English laws to British subjects across the sea, and playing up to the Imperial policy of crushing out the colonizing and commercial rivalry of France. The ultimate failure of his mission of reconciliation effected no sudden transformation of his political ideas; it rather overwhelmed him with disgust at the folly, the obstinacy, and the corruption rampant among English politicians of the period. He returned to the arms of the people because he had been hurled from the arms of the king; and he embraced their new principles because he was sure that they could not be worse applied than his old ones. His respect for the popular will was inevitably heightened by his share in executing it in the thrilling days when he was helping his fellow-countrymen to declare their independence, and was earning the superb epigraph of Turgot: *Eripuit fulmen coelo, sceptrumque tyrannis*. His official residence in France completely dissolved his former antagonism to that country. In the early stages of the conflict his wrath was bitter enough towards England, but long before it was over he had taken the ground of radical pacificism, reiterating his conviction that "there is no good war and no bad peace." He who had financed the Revolution had seen too much non-productive expenditure of moral and physical capital to believe in the appeal to arms. If nations required enlargement of their territories, it was a mere matter of arithmetic, he contended, to show that the cheapest way was purchase. "Justice," he declared, "is as strictly due between neighbour Nations as between neighbour Citizens, . . . and a Nation that makes an unjust War, is only a *great Gang*." So far as he was able, he mitigated the afflictions of noncombatants. He proposed by international law to exempt from peril fishermen and farmers and the productive workers of the world. He ordered the privateersmen under his control to safeguard the lives and property of explorers and men of science belonging to the enemy country; and he advocated for the future the abolition of the custom of commissioning privateers. In the treaty which he negotiated with Prussia he actually obtained the incorporation of an article so restricting the "zone of war" as to make a war between Prussia and the United States under its terms virtually impossible. His diplomatic intercourse in Europe and his association with the Physiocrats had opened his eyes to the common interests of all pacific peoples and to the inestimable advantages of a general amity among the nations. His ultimate political ideal included nothing short of the welfare and the commercial federation of the world. To that extent he was a believer in "majority interests." It may be further said that his political development was marked by a growing mastery of the art of dealing with men and by a steady approximation of his political to his personal morality.

For the broad humanity of Franklin's political conceptions undoubtedly his interest in the extension of science was partly responsible. As a scientific investigator he had long been a citizen of the world; and for him not the least bitter consequence of the war was that it made a break in the intellectual brotherhood of man. If he had not been obliged to supply the army of Washington with guns and ammunition, he might have been engaged in the far more congenial task of supplying the British Academy with food for philosophical discussion. He could not but resent the brutal antagonisms which had rendered intellectual co-operation with his English friends impossible, and which had frustrated his cherished hope of devoting his ripest years to philosophical researches. A natural endowment he certainly possessed which would have qualified him in happier circumstances for even more distinguished service than he actually performed in extending the frontiers of knowledge. He had the powerfully developed curiosity of the explorer and the inventor, ever busily prying into the causes of things, ever speculating upon the consequences of novel combinations. His native inquisitiveness had been stimulated by a young civilization's manifold necessities, mothering manifold inventions, and had been supplemented by a certain moral and idealizing passion for improvement. The practical nature of many of his devices, his interest in agriculture and navigation, his preoccupation with stoves and chimneys, the image of him firing the gas of ditch water or pouring oil on troubled waves, and the celebrity of the kite incident, rather tend to fix an impression that he was but a tactful empiricist and a lucky dilettante of discovery. It is interesting in this connection to note that he confesses his lack of patience for verification. His prime scientific faculty, as he himself felt, was the imagination which bodies forth the shapes and relations of things unknown—which constructs the theory and the hypothesis. His mind was a teeming warren of hints and suggestions. He loved rather to start than to pursue the hare. Happily what he deemed his excessive penchant for forming hypotheses was safeguarded by his perfect readiness to hear all that could be urged against them. He wished not his view but truth to prevail—which explains the winsome cordiality of his demeanour towards other savants. His unflagging correspondence with investigators, his subscription to learned publications, his active membership in philosophical societies, and his enterprise in founding schools and academies all betoken his prescience of the wide domain which science had to conquer and of the necessity for co-operation in the task of subduing it. Franklin was so far a Baconian that he sought to avoid unfruitful speculation and to unite contemplation and action in a stricter embrace for the generation of knowledge useful to man. But in refutation of any charge that he was a narrow-minded utilitarian and lacked the liberal views and long faith of the modern scientific spirit may be adduced his stunning retort to a query as to the usefulness of the balloons then on trial in France: "What is the use of a new-born baby?"

Of Franklin's style the highest praise is to declare that it reveals the mental and moral qualities of the man himself. It is the flexible style of a writer who has learned the craft of expression by studying and imitating the virtues of many masters: the playful charm of Addison, the trenchancy of Swift, the concreteness of Defoe, the urbanity of Shaftesbury, the homely directness of Bunyan's dialogue, the unadorned vigour of Tillotson, and the epigrammatic force of Pope. His mature manner, however, is imitative of nothing but the thoroughly disciplined movement of a versatile mind which has never known a moment of languor or a moment of uncontrollable excitement. Next to his omnipresent vitality, his most notable characteristic is the clearness which results from a complete preliminary vision of what is to be said, and which in a young hand demands deliberate preconsideration. To Franklin, the ordering of his matter must have become eventually a light task as, with incessant passing to and fro in his experience and with the daily habit of epistolary communication, he grew as familiar with his intellectual terrain as an old field marshal with the map of Europe. For the writing of his later years is marked not merely by clearness and force but also by the sovereign ease of a man who has long understood the interrelations of his ideas and has ceased to make revolutionary discoveries in any portion of his own nature. His occasional wrath does not fluster him but rather intensifies his lucidity, clarifies his logic, and brightens the ironical smile which accompanies the thrust of his wit. The "decent plainness and manly freedom" of his ordinary tone—notes which he admired in the writings of his maternal grandfather Peter Folger—rise in parts of his official correspondence to a severity of decorum; for there is a trace of the senatorial in the man, the dignity of antique Rome. He is seldom too hurried, even in a private letter, to gratify the ear by the turning and cadence of sentence and phrase; and one feels that the harmony of his periods is the right and predestined vesture of his essential blandness and suavity of temper. His stylistic drapery, however, is never so smoothed and adjusted as to obscure the sinewy vigour of his thought. His manner is steadily in the service of his matter. He is adequate, not copious; for his moral "frugality and industry" prompt him to eschew surplusage and to make his texture firm. His regard for purity of diction is classical; he avoids vulgarity; he despises the jargon of scientific pedants; but like Montaigne he loves frank and masculine speech, and he likes to enrich the language of the well bred by discreet drafts upon the burry, homely, sententious, proverbial language of the people. Like Lord Bacon and like many other grave men among his fellow-countrymen, he found it difficult to avoid an opportunity for a jest even when the occasion was unpropitious; and he never sat below the Attic salt. When his fortune was made, he put by the pewter spoon and bowl of his apprenticeship; his biographers remind us that he kept a well stocked cellar at Passy and enjoyed the distinction of suffering from the gout. With affluence and years he acquired a "palate," and gave a little play to the long repressed tastes of an Epicurean whom early destiny had cast upon a rock-bound coast. The literary expression of his autumnal festivity is to be found in the *bagatelles*. *The Ephemera* proves that this great eighteenth-century rationalist had a fancy. It is no relative, indeed, of that romantic spirit which pipes to the whistling winds on the enchanted greens of Shakespeare. It is rather the classic Muse of eighteenth-century art which summons the rosy Loves and Desires to sport among the courtiers and philosophers and the wasp-waisted ladies in a *fête champêtre* or an *Embarkment for Cythera* of Watteau. The tallow chandler's son who enters on the cycle of his development by cultivating thrift with Defoe, continues it by cultivating tolerance and philanthropy with Voltaire, and completes it with Lord Chesterfield by cultivating "the graces."

CHAPTER VII

Colonial Newspapers and Magazines, 1704-1775

THE development of the colonial press coincides with a period often regarded as narrowly provincial in American literature. That spirit of adventure which enlivens the early historical narratives had settled into a thrifty concern with practical affairs, combined with an exaggerated interest in fine-spun doctrinal reasoning. The echoes of Spenser and other Elizabethans to be heard in some few Puritan elegies and in Anne Bradstreet's quaint imagery, had died away. Knowledge of Europe had become so casual that the colonial newspaper often found it necessary to describe Dresden or Berlin as "a fair, large, and strong city of Germany," and to insert other geographical notes of the simplest sort.

These limitations in the colonial point of view, however, had several striking effects on the early journalism between 1704 and 1750, or thereabouts. The reader who examines the small, ill-printed, half illegible news sheets is surprised to find them more varied in many ways, and more distinctly literary than modern journalism aims to be. The simple fact of the matter is that the dearth of news at length forced the editorial mind to become inventive and even, in some instances, creative. When we remember that European news failed entirely during the long winters; that intercolonial communication was irregular and unsystematic; that criticism of the government in political editorials meant an official inquiry followed by the forced discontinuance of the paper, if not by a trial for libel; that the public already had enough religious exhortation from the pulpit and from pamphlets on *The Fatal Consequences of Unscriptural Doctrine* or *Twenty Considerations against Sin,*—remembering these things it will not seem so extraordinary that the newspapers turned to the spectacle of the actual life about them, and, to convey it, sought their models in the world of letters so little known in the colonies.

It was James Franklin, Benjamin Franklin's older brother, who first made a news sheet something more than a garbled mass of stale items, "taken from the Gazetts and other Publick Prints of London" some six months late. Franklin, "encouraged by a number of respectable characters, who were desirous of having a paper of a different cast from those then published, . . . began the publication, at his own risk, of a third newspaper, entitled *The New England Courant.*"[1] These respectable characters were known as the Hell-Fire Club; they succeeded in publishing a paper "of a different cast," which, although it shocked New England orthodoxy pretty thoroughly, nevertheless proved vastly entertaining and established a kind of literary precedent.

For instead of filling the first page of the *Courant* with the tedious conventionalities of governors' addresses to provincial legislatures, James Franklin's club wrote essays and satirical letters after the manner of *The Spectator* just ten years after the first appearance of *The Spectator* in London. How novel the whole method would be to New England readers may be inferred from the fact that even the Harvard library had no copies of Addison or Steele at this period. Swift, Pope, Prior, and Dryden would also have been looked for in vain. Milton himself was little known in the stronghold of Puritanism. But the printing office of James Franklin had Shakespeare, Milton, Addison, Steele, Cowley, Butler's *Hudibras*, and "*The Tail of the Tub*"[2] on its shelves. All these were read and used in the editor's office, but *The Spectator* and its kind became the actual model for the new journalism.

As a result, the very look of an ordinary first page of the *Courant* is like that of a *Spectator* page. After the more formal introductory paper on some general topic, such as zeal or hypocrisy or honour or contentment, the facetious letters of imaginary correspondents commonly fill the remainder of the *Courant's* first page. Timothy Turnstone addresses flippant jibes to Justice Nicholas Clodpate in the first extant number of the *Courant.* Tom Pen-Shallow quickly follows, with his mischievous little postscript: "Pray inform me whether in your Province Criminals have the Privilege of a Jury." Tom Tram writes from the moon about a certain "villainous Postmaster" he has heard rumours of. (The *Courant* was always perilously close to legal difficulties and had, besides, a lasting feud with the town postmaster.) Ichabod Henroost complains of a gadding wife. Abigail Afterwit would like to know when the editor of the rival paper, the *Gazette,* "intends to have done printing the Carolina Addresses to their Governour, and give his Readers Something in the Room of them, that will be more entertaining." Homespun Jack deplores the fashions in general, and small waists in particular. Some of these papers represent native wit, with only a general approach to the model; others are little more than paraphrases of *The Spectator.* And sometimes a *Spectator* paper is inserted bodily, with no attempt at paraphrase whatever.

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[1] Isaiah Thomas, *History of Printing in America.* In *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. v, p. 110.

[2] The spelling of the *Courant.*

Benjamin Franklin, a mere boy at this time, contributed to the *Courant* the first fruits of his days and nights with Addison. The fourteen little essays from Silence Dogood to the editor are among the most readable and charming of Franklin's early imitations, clearly following *The Spectator*, yet at rather long range and with considerable adaptation to the New England environment. Silence rambles on amiably enough except for occasional slurs on the New England clergy, in regard to whom the *Courant* was always bitter, and often scurrilous. For the Hell-Fire Club never grasped the inner secret of Mr. Spectator, his urbane, imperturbable, impersonal kindliness of manner. Instead, they vented their hatred of dogmatism and intolerance in personalities so insolent as to become in themselves intolerant. Entertaining, however, the *Courant* is, from first to last, and full of a genuine humour and a shrewd satiric truth to life.

Offensive as the *Courant* certainly was to New England orthodoxy, its literary method was seized upon and used in the new paper established under the influence of the Boston clergymen Mather Byles and Thomas Prince. This was *The New*

England Weekly Journal, and Mather Byles, hailed at the time as "Harvard's honour and New England's hope," who "bids fair to rise, and sing, and rival Pope"[1] contributed largely to the verse and prose on the first page of the paper. A series of "Speculations" is announced, in exact and close imitation of *The Spectator;* even a fictitious author, Proteus Echo, appears as a new Spectator of men and manners, to banter a folly by representing it in a glass. He forms a club, and sketches the members for us in his second essay, which proceeds exactly as the second number of *The Spectator*.

These characters of Proteus Echo's "Society" show some good strokes. There is Mr. Timothy Blunt, an amusing New England version of Sir Roger de Coverley. He lives at some distance from the town of Boston, but rides in every week, often bringing his "Wallet ballanced with two Bottles of Milk, to defray his necessary Expenses. . . . His Periwigg has been out of the Curl ever since the Revolution and his Dagger and Doublet are supposed to be the rarest Pieces of Antiquity in the Country." If it had not been for an unlucky stroke to his "Intellectuals" in his infancy, "he would have stood the fairest of any of his Contemporarys to have found out the Philosopher's Stone." The "wonderful Mr. Honeysuckle, the Blossom of our Society, and the beautiful Ornament of Litterature," is nothing less than Will Honeycomb translated into a poet.

On the whole, however, such work is rare in the *Journal.* Strictly moral essays, of which even *The Spectator* has its full share, soon follow the more creative touches, and we find the ordinary eighteenth-century treatment of merit, covetousness, idleness, the vapours, and so on. Such essays came to be the accepted "filling" for the first page of many newspapers up to 1740 and sometimes after that date. Jeremy Gridley's *Rehearsal* (1743–6), for instance, has a series of speculations rather above the common order, yet requiring no especial notice for their originality or their importance except as a type.

Benjamin Franklin's later journalism amply fulfilled the promise contained in the Silence Dogood papers. When he finally established himself in Philadelphia, shortly before

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[1] See Book I, Chap. IX.

1730, the town boasted two wretched little news sheets, Andrew Bradford's *American Mercury*, and Keimer's *Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences, and Pennsylvania Gazette*. This instruction in all arts and sciences consisted of weekly extracts from Chambers's *Universal Dictionary*, actually commencing with A, and going steadily on towards Z, followed by instalments of Defoe's *Religious Courtship*, called by the editor "a scarce and delightful piece of History." Franklin quickly did away with all this when he took over the *Instructor*, and made it *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. The *Gazette* soon became Franklin's characteristic organ, which he freely used for satire, for the play of his wit, even for sheer excess of mischief or of fun.

From the first he had a way of adapting his models to his own uses. The series of essays called *The Busy-Body*, which he wrote for Bradford's *American Mercury* in 1729, followed the general Addisonian form, modified already to suit homelier conditions. The thrifty Patience, in her busy little shop, complaining of the useless visitors who waste her valuable time, is related to the ladies who address Mr. Spectator. The Busy-Body himself is a true Censor Morum, as Isaac Bickerstaff had been in the *Tatler*. And a number of the fictitious characters, Ridentius, Eugenius, Cato, and Cretico, represent traditional eighteenth-century classicism. Even this Franklin could use for contemporary satire, since Cretico, the "sowre Philosopher," is evidently a portrait of Franklin's rival, Samuel Keimer.

As time went on, Franklin depended less on his literary conventions, and more on his own native humour. In this there is a new spirit,—not suggested to him by the fine breeding of Addison, or the bitter irony of Swift, or the stinging completeness of Pope. The brilliant little pieces Franklin wrote for his *Pennsylvania Gazette* have an imperishable place in American literature. It is none the less true that they belong to colonial journalism.

The Pennsylvania Gazette, like most other newspapers of the period, was often poorly printed. Franklin was busy with a hundred matters outside of his printing office, and never seriously attempted to raise the standards of his trade. Nor did he ever properly edit or collate the chance medley of stale items which passed for news in the *Gazette*. His influence on the practical side of journalism was very small. On the other hand, his advertisements of books show his very great interest in popularizing secular literature. Undoubtedly his paper contributed to the broader culture which distinguished Pennsylvania from her neighbours before the Revolution. Starting with the custom of importing a stray volume or two along with stationer's supplies, Franklin gradually developed a book shop in his printing office. There was nothing unusual in this fact, by itself. His rival, Andrew Bradford, and many other printers in the colonies had odd collections for sale. But while Bradford was advertising the *Catechistical Guide to Sinners*, or *The Plain Man's Path-way to Heaven*, along with an occasional *Spectator*, Franklin's importations, listed in the *Gazette* for sale, included works of Bacon, Dryden, Locke, Milton, Otway, Pope, Prior, Swift, Rowe, Defoe, Addison, Steele, Arbuthnot, Congreve, Rabelais, Seneca, Ovid, and various novels, all before 1740. The first catalogue of his Library Company shows substantially the same list, with the addition of Don Quixote, and the works of Shaftesbury, of Gay, of Spenser, and of Voltaire. These latter were probably for sale in the printing office as well.

Advertisements of merchandise in all the colonies throw a good deal of light on the customs of the time, and, incidentally, also on the popular taste in reading. We find that Peter Turner has "Superfine Scarlet Cloth, Hat Linings, *Tatlers*, *Spectators*, and Barclay's *Apology*"[1]; that Peter Harry imports "Head Flowers in Boxes, Laces and Edgings, Psalm-books, Play-books, the *Guardians* in 2 vol., Women's Short Cloaks, Men's Scarlet Great Coats"[2] and other apparel. The ship *Samuel*, from London, brings over "sundry goods, particularly a very choice collection of printed Books, Pictures, Maps and Pickles, to be Sold very reasonable by Robert Pringle."[3]

Franklin's influence in journalism was not confined to Pennsylvania. He often assisted young journeymen in the establishment of newspapers in distant towns. Thomas Whitemarsh, for instance, went to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1731, as Franklin's partner in a new enterprise, which soon included a new paper, *The South Carolina Gazette*. Naturally, Whitemarsh filled his front page with essays, sometimes reprinted from *The Spectator*, but often original, with a facetious quality suggesting Franklin. A few burlesques such as the papers of a certain Meddlers' Club are little better than nonsense, rarely enlivened by a flash of wit. Once we find an odd bit of local colour, when a member of this club criticizes the fair ones of Charleston for promenading too much along the bay. "I have heard," he says, "that in Great Britain the Ladies and Gentlemen choose the Parks and such like Places to walk and take the Air in, but I never heard of any Places making use of the Wharfs for such Purpose except this." Essays of one sort or another were always popular in *The South Carolina Gazette*. Here may be found interesting notices of the various performances (probably professional) of Otway's *Orphan*, Farquhar's *Recruiting Officer*, and other popular plays of the period which were given at the Charleston theatres for twenty or thirty years before the first wandering professional companies began to play in the Northern colonies. Here, too, we find in the issue of 8 February, 1735, what is probably the first recorded prologue composed in the colonies.

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[1] See *The American Mercury*, No. 1010, 3 May, 1739.

[2] See *The South Carolina Gazette*, February, 1734.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 511, 9 January, 1744.

Early theatrical notices may also be followed in *The Virginia Gazette*, a paper of unusual excellence, edited by William Parks in Williamsburg, the old capital of Virginia. Here *The Busy-Body*, *The Recruiting Officer*, and *The Beaux-Stratagem* were all performed, often by amateurs, though professionals were known as early as 1716 in Williamsburg. Life in Williamsburg in 1736 had a more cosmopolitan quality than in other towns. A sprightly essay-serial called *The Monitor*, which fills the first page of *The Virginia Gazette* for twenty-two numbers, probably reflects not only the social life of the capital, but also the newer fashion in such periodical work. It is dramatic in method, with vividly realized characters who gossip and chat over games of piquet or at the theatre. *The Beaux-Stratagem*, which had been played in Williamsburg three weeks before, is mentioned as delightful enough to make one of the ladies commit the indiscretion of giggling. *The Monitor* represents a kind of light social satire unusual in the colonies.

Satire of a heavier sort when attempted by newspaper writers was never long sustained above mere invective, though it sometimes began with tolerable Hudibrastic or Popean couplets. *The Dunciad* and *Hudibras* were well known and often quoted in such bitter controversies as the famous Whitefield warfare in Charleston between 1740 and 1745. *A Tale of a Tub* and *Gulliver's Travels* also furnished admirable epithets for one's foes. Occasionally some journalist tried to moderate the heat of battle by recurring to the dignity of Addison. In political controversy, especially if he happened to be a liberal, he preferred *Cato's Letters*,[1] Locke, or Algernon Sidney, throughout the early period. Thus it was that the colonists from Boston to Savannah were constantly imbibing advanced British constitutional theories.

After 1750, general news became accessible, and the newspapers show more and more interest in public affairs. The literary first page was no longer necessary, though occasionally used to cover a dull period. A new type of vigorous polemic gradually superseded the older essay. A few of the well-known conventions were retained, however. We still find the fictitious letter, with the fanciful signature, or a series of papers under a common title, such as *The Virginia-Centinel*, or Livingston's *Watch-Tower*. The former is a flaming appeal to arms, running through *The Virginia Gazette* in 1756, and copied into Northern papers to rouse patriotism against the French enemy. The expression of the sentiment, even thus early, seems national. This whole series, though somewhat florid in style, shows the familiarity of the cultivated Southerner with his favourite English poets,—Young, Pope, Shakespeare. Livingston's well-known *Watch-Tower*,[2] a continuation of his pamphlet-magazine *The Independent Reflector*, has already the keen edge of the Revolutionary writings of fifteen and twenty years later. The fifty-second number even has one of the popular phrases of the Revolution: "Had I not sounded the Alarm, Bigotry would e'er now have triumphed over the *natural Rights of British Subjects*."[3]

This expression "natural rights," occurring so early as 1755 in Livingston's paper, is probably accidental or vague, but the full political theory of Rousseau, with all its abstractions regarding mankind in general, was soon added to the definite and always cherished belief in the constitutional privileges of Englishmen. The ideas of the French philosophers were in the air, and there is plenty of evidence in the colonial newspapers for fifteen or twenty years before the Revolution that the French influence was increasing. Even during the French and Indian war, booksellers advertised French texts, grammars, and dictionaries in the papers, while courses in French were often announced. Before the close of the war, we find *The Boston Gazette* printing extracts from Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws*, with an apology and the expressed hope that it may not be "political Heresey" to suppose that "a Frenchman may have juster Notions of Civil Liberty than some among ourselves." This was in the days when "Gallic perfidy" was the popular note.

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[1] *Cato's Letters* or *The British Cato*, a series of political papers by Thomas Gordon and John Trenchard, published in London from 1720 to 1723.

[2] Appearing in Gaine's *Mercury* in 1754–1755.

[3] The italics are not in the original.

After 1760 all the important works of Rousseau, Montesquieu, and the Encyclopedists as well as many other French books were advertised for sale in the colonial press. Such advertisements indicate the taste of the reading public more accurately than do catalogues of private libraries, which represent individual preferences. Voltaire had long been known in the colonies. Rousseau's *Social Contract* was advertised as a *Treatise on the Social Compact, or The Principles of Political Law*. He himself is referred to again and again as "the ingenious Rousseau," or "the celebrated Rousseau." And *Émile* and *La Nouvelle Héloïse* were evidently in demand. The famous *Letters of a Farmer in Pennsylvania* by John Dickinson belong to the colonial press in a very special way, since not only did they first appear in *The Pennsylvania Chronicle*, *The Pennsylvania Journal*, and *The Pennsylvania Gazette* almost simultaneously in the winter of 1767–1768, but they were reprinted in nearly every newspaper on the continent, from Nova Scotia to Georgia.[1] The *Letters* were soon known in France, where they were translated by Jacques Barbeu Dubourg, with a preface of glowing compliment.

Reports of French interest in America inclined the colonists still more to the French philosophy of government. As a matter of fact, from the time of the Stamp Act, political essays of every description filled the newspapers, and what one paper published was soon reprinted in others. Thus the influence of the press in this critical period can hardly be overrated. If the "pumpkin Gentry" of New England (to use a tory phrase) took offence at some encroachment, gentlemen planters of the South were sure to read the whole case in a few weeks and, in spite of their differing civilization, to sympathize with the Northern firebrands. When Dr. Arthur Lee sent home to *The Virginia Gazette* his *Monitor*, a series of essays describing hostile conditions in London, and urging his countrymen to non-importation, it was not by any means his countrymen of Virginia alone who heard the call. The *Monitor* has something of the distinguished style of the *Farmer*, and it is natural that the two should have been published together in a Williamsburg edition. Revolutionary Virginia burgesses always toasted the *Farmer's* and *Monitor's* letters together. But essays of an entirely different type also appeared constantly. Republicans and Loyalists fought violent battles under assumed classical names. Constitutionalis, Massachusettensis, Senex, Novanglus, Pacificus, Caesariensis, Amicus Publico, Cunctator, Virginius, Mucius Scaevola, Cato, Scipio, Leonidas, Brutus, and many more argued hotly and often powerfully the whole question of allegiance, on abstract grounds.

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[1] See also Book I, Chap. VIII.

Isaiah Thomas's *Massachusetts Spy* shows the course of this long battle. Constantly on the verge of being suppressed, from its establishment in 1770 to the Revolution, it carried radicalism to its logical conclusion. When the *Spy* began to be reprinted in other papers, as "the most daring production ever published in America," the country as a whole was ready for Tom Paine's *Common Sense*.

In regard to other forms of periodical literature before the Revolution, it is often difficult to draw precise distinctions.[1] Newspapers are easily enough distinguished in general by the attempt to give items of current news. Outside the regular news sheets, there is a strange assortment of colonial productions usually classed as magazines, but in many cases hardly recognizable as such. For instance, William Livingston's *Independent Reflector, or Weekly Essays* and also Andrew Oliver's *Censor*, are nothing more than single essays published serially. The *Censor* was published in weekly reply to "Mucius Scaevola" and other writers of the *Spy*. The very meaning of the word "magazine" in the eighteenth century makes classification difficult. It was literally a "storehouse," being applied to literature as a "collection"; almost any assemblage of writings, especially if published serially, could be referred to as a "magazine." Even the regular London magazines of the period were made up largely of excerpts from weekly reviews and periodicals, along with a summary of the news of the month. A department called "Poetical Essays" was usually more original, but on the whole both *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *The London Magazine* could be described fairly enough as collections of material from various sources.

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[1] Mr. Albert Matthews notes this difficulty in his bibliography of New England magazines. See his *Lists of New England Magazines*, in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, vol. XIII, pp. 69–74.

There were a few magazines of this standard English type in America before the Revolution. Franklin, as usual, led the way, though it happened that his rival Andrew Bradford actually published the first magazine in the colonies. Franklin's soon followed, and these two little periodicals brought out the same month in Philadelphia, 1741, clearly indicate the attempt to transplant the English type, with some adaptations, for colonial readers. Franklin's title, *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle for all the British Plantations in America*, shows his intention of giving a review of colonial news rather than of British. He did, as a matter of fact, use *The Virginia Gazette* and other weeklies for articles and verse, but he also took European items whenever he could get them. Both magazines were evidently premature, however, for Bradford's existed only three months, and Franklin's only six.

The next attempt at this sort of periodical came from Boston two years later. Jeremy Gridley was the able editor of *The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle*. It is an excellent piece of work for that date, both in general arrangement and in details of printing. There is very little original material, however, since the editor not only imitated *The London Magazine* very closely in plan, but boldly copied most of the essays, articles, and verse from it or from *The Gentleman's Magazine*. An occasional translation from the classics by a Harvard student, a burlesque by "Jonathan Weatherwise" on the absurd weather signs of the country folk, or perhaps a timely article from a "neighbouring colony" does not suffice to impart a native flavour to the magazine as a whole. It is distinctly "imported." The attempt was nevertheless creditable, and certainly kept readers in touch with the best English reviews. The magazine continued for three years.

A dozen years later *The New England Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* announced its motto, "Alluring Profit with Delight we blend," but it confined itself to hackneyed essays on old models. In the same year, however, at Philadelphia, a magazine of decided originality and of genuine importance in colonial literature was coming out month by month with the first provost of the new college as its editor and guiding spirit. The Rev. William Smith, called to America from Aberdeen in 1752, brought a great love of letters to his new work and soon succeeded in imparting his own literary enthusiasms to a group of young students. It is largely due to his constant encouragement that a strain of lyric poetry at length sounded in clear, welcome notes, a strain all too short and slight, but of real beauty. These young poets belonged to the generation after that of Franklin's famous Junto, one of the college group being a son of Franklin's friend Thomas Godfrey, the mathematician. Thomas Godfrey, Jr., needed all the active help of the provost, since poetical gifts did not meet with favour in the Godfrey household. Francis Hopkinson, Joseph Shippen, and Nathaniel Evans were also introduced to the public by Smith.

The interesting thing about William Smith's own literary enthusiasms is his love of eighteenth-century romanticism. In a thoroughly romantic temper he made himself a retreat by the falls of the Schuylkill, which he describes under the guise of Theodore, the Hermit, in his *American Magazine*, noting "the singular gloom of its situation," hidden by "a romantic tuft of trees," and made more lonely by surrounding waters. He could soon announce in his magazine that he had almost too many poems to draw from. Practically all the verse in its thirteen numbers is original, although at times, especially in the long poems of James Sterling, the most conventional eighteenth-century manner is amusingly evident. The essays, with very few exceptions, were not only written in the colonies but were often well adapted to the problems of the day, the war on the border, the Indians, the public policies of the government. The pride in "this young country" is everywhere evident, combined with perfect loyalty to Great Britain. In this year 1758 the successor of *The American Magazine*, called *The New American Magazine*, continued the same general policy, without securing the same originality. William Smith had been called to England, and the new venture lacked his power. It had the honour of publishing Nathaniel Evans's fine *Ode on the late General Wolfe*, however, in probably its earliest and simplest form.

With the next magazines we are again on the eve of the revolution. "The town has met," and we read instructions, articles, orations, odes, and satires on the situation, sometimes reprinted from the newspapers, sometimes written for the magazine, but always inflammatory, since the two noteworthy periodicals of this period, *The Pennsylvania Magazine* and *The Royal American Magazine*, were edited respectively by the two firebrands, Thomas Paine and Isaiah Thomas. Paine's magazine did not lack pungent wit of one kind or another, although for the more strictly literary sections both he and Isaiah Thomas drew freely on conventional English sources which, in theory, they should have rejected. Thomas's *Royal American Magazine* is enlivened by the famous Paul Revere engravings and is otherwise interesting, particularly for its confident belief in the new country soon to be the United States.

CHAPTER VIII

American Political Writing, 1760–1789

AMERICAN history between 1760 and 1789—from the end, that is, so far as military operations were concerned, of the Seven Years' War to the inauguration of the new government under the Federal Constitution—falls naturally into three well-marked periods. The first, comprising the development of the constitutional struggle with Great Britain over taxation and imperial control, reaches its culmination in the armed collision between the British and the patriot forces at Lexington, 19 April, 1775. The second period covers the eight years of war, ending with the peace treaty of September, 1783; while the third embraces the so-called "critical period" of the Confederation, and the formation and adoption of the Constitution.

Such a time of storm and stress, of revolution and evolution, is pretty certain, especially in a new country, if it bring forth literature at all, to bring forth such as is predominantly political in content, style, and purpose. The Revolutionary leaders who have left a large and permanent impress upon American literature were concerned chiefly with such weighty matters as the nature of the British constitution, the formulation of colonial rights, and the elaboration of schemes of government and administration; and it was of these things that they chiefly wrote. It is a striking tribute to the classical education of the age, to the moulding power of closely-reasoned theological and legal treatises on which ministers and lawyers fed,[1] and to the subtle, pervasive influence of the English Bible, that the best political writing of the Revolutionary period attained a dignity and impressiveness of style, a noble power of rhetorical form, and a telling incisiveness of phrase which won the instant admiration of English critics, and which stamp the political literature of American national beginnings as superior to the similar literature of any other people anywhere.

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[1] See Book I, Chap. VII, for evidence as to the knowledge of French radical books in the colonies after 1760.

Of the first notable contribution to the literary history of the Revolution we have, unfortunately, only a second-hand report. When, in 1761, following the death of George II and the accession of George III, the surveyor-general of customs at Boston applied to the Superior Court of Massachusetts for the reissuance of writs of assistance,[1] granting authority to search for and seize uncustomed goods, some merchants of Boston and others combined to oppose the application. James Otis the younger, for ten years past one of the leaders of the Massachusetts bar, and lately advocate-general, who, unable to support the application for the writs, had resigned his office, made the leading argument for the petitioners. In a great speech, the substance of which has survived only in notes taken at the time by John Adams,[2] then a young lawyer, and more fully written out many years later, Otis challenged the writs as "the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law, that ever was found in an English law-book." At once general in its terms and perpetual in its operation, lacking the exact specification of place and circumstance which a search-warrant ought to contain, such a writ was on both accounts illegal. The freedom of one's house was violated by it; the only precedent for it belonged to the days of arbitrary power under Charles II. "No acts of Parliament can establish such a writ. . . . An act against the constitution is void."

Otis could impede, but he could not defeat, the application, and the writs were eventually issued. He had, however, raised the important question of the application of English law to the colonies, and the nature and extent of the "rights of Englishmen" which the colonial charters, in express terms, had guaranteed. Elected a member of the House of Representatives, he presently led an attack upon Governor Bernard for fitting out an armed vessel without the approval of the House; drafted a communication in which the governor was charged with "taking from the House their most darling privilege, the right of originating all taxes"; and late in 1762 published his first political pamphlet, *A Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay*, in which, mixed with extreme praise of the King of Great Britain and denunciation of the King of France, and vague suggestions as to the nature of human rights, the privileges of the colonies under the British constitution were stoutly maintained. Neither historically nor legally was the argument beyond question, and the claim of right was a call to the future rather than an interpretation of the past. What was said, however, was said with vigour and incisiveness, and to Otis's provincial audience carried weight.

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[1] A form of writ is given in W. MacDonald, *Select Charters*, 259–261. The best account of the subject is in Quincy, *Massachusetts Reports*, 395–540.

[2] *Works*, II, 124 note, 521–525; X, 246–249, 274–276.

The treaty of Paris, ceding to Great Britain all the vast possessions of France on the mainland of North America, together with Florida and other Spanish territory east of the Mississippi, was concluded 10 February, 1763. On the 23d of that month, Charles Townshend became first lord of trade, with the oversight of colonial administration, in the short-lived ministry of Bute, and some far-reaching changes in the colonial system were presently announced. The salaries of governors and judges, hitherto paid by the colonial assemblies, were now to be paid by the crown, thus insuring, it was believed, a better enforcement of the trade laws and a proper revenue from customs; and a standing army of ten thousand men was to be maintained in America, in anticipation of an attempt by France to recover what it had lost, the expense of the troops to be met by parliamentary taxation of the colonies. Grenville, who became prime minister in June, supported the plan. In March, 1764, Grenville gave notice of his intention to impose stamp duties; laying the matter over for a year, however, in order that the colonies might be consulted. In April a Sugar Act imposed new colonial customs duties.

The prospect of direct taxation by Parliament aroused widespread apprehension in America, and called forth in July the ablest and best-known of Otis's pamphlets, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved.* With notable moderation and restraint, and in a tone pervadingly judicial rather than partisan, Otis argued the case for the colonies, appealing as before to the British constitution as he understood it, and to the logic of right, liberty, and justice. A colony being an integral part of the mother country, though territorially separated from it, its people are, "by the law of God and nature, by the common law, and by act of Parliament . . . entitled to all the natural, essential, inherent, and inseparable rights of our fellow-subjects in Great Britain." Among these rights was that of freedom from taxation save with their own consent, and of representation in the supreme or some subordinate legislature. Parliament admittedly possessed a general supervisory authority over the colonies, but if, under the guise of regulation, it were to infringe upon the right of taxation through duly elected representatives, it would be guilty of an arbitrary violation of the constitution. Forcible resistance, however, even to an unconstitutional act, was not to be thought of.

> There would be an end of all government, if one or a number of subjects or subordinate provinces should take upon them so far to judge of the justice of an act of Parliament, as to refuse obedience to it. . . . Therefore let the Parliament lay what burdens they please on us, we must, it is our duty to submit and patiently bear them, till they will be pleased to relieve us.

Otis voiced effectively the first impulse of thoughtful, patriotic Americans as they contemplated the prospect of parliamentary taxation. The proposed act violated the constitution whose benefits the colonists claimed, but forcible resistance would be treason. The same line of argument, more systematically and cogently put, characterized Oxenbridge Thacher's *Sentiments of a British American* (1764). Thacher was a fellow townsman of Otis, and the two had been associated in the case of the writs of assistance. Like Otis, Thacher's legal argument closes with a strong profession of loyalty to the crown, and there is no good ground for thinking that in either case the profession was insincere. Argument and dissent were an Englishman's right, and the constitution had grown by protest against abuses.

An even more effective statement of the American case is found in *The Rights of Colonies Examined*, a pamphlet written by Stephen Hopkins, governor of Rhode Island, and published at Providence in 1765. Admitting the right of Parliament to regulate the affairs of the whole empire, Hopkins not only claims for the colonies "as much freedom as the mother state from which they went out," but dwells forcibly upon the dangerous tendency of the new policy, the widespread apprehension which it has already aroused, and the absence of any clear necessity for raising an American revenue by parliamentary fiat.

> What motive . . . can remain, to induce the parliament to abridge the privileges, and lessen the rights of the most loyal and dutiful subjects; subjects justly intituled to ample freedom, who have long enjoyed, and not abused or forfeited their liberties, who have used them to their own advantage, in dutiful subserviency to the orders and interests of Great-Britain?

Such reasoning as that of Otis, Thacher, and Hopkins, however convincing to the popular mind, avoided, but did not settle, the important and difficult constitutional question of the ultimate authority of Parliament over the colonies. On that question the wisest were certain to differ, and a presentation of the other side of the case was speedily forthcoming. In February, 1765, there appeared at Newport *A Letter from a Gentleman at Halifax, to his Friend in Rhode-Island*, published anonymously, but written by Martin Howard, a Newport lawyer of repute. In this temperate, logical, and readable pamphlet, the "Gentleman at Halifax," replying to Hopkins's "labored, ostentatious piece," puts his finger on the primary defect in the whole colonial argument, namely, the claim "that the colonies have rights independent of, and not controulable by the authority of parliament." If they derived their political rights from Parliament, were not those rights subject to interpretation or abridgement by Parliament? A lively controversy ensued. Hopkins defended himself in a series of articles in the Providence *Gazette*, while Otis, his zeal for debate knowing no provincial bounds, printed *A Vindication of the British Colonies against the Aspersions of the Halifax Gentleman.* Howard retorted with *A Defence of the Letter from a Gentleman at Halifax, to his Friend in Rhode-Island*, to which Otis responded with *Brief Remarks on the Defence of the Halifax Libel on the British-American-Colonies.* The tide of patriotism was rising, however, and the populace presently took a hand. Before the summer was over Howard, after being hanged and burned in effigy at Newport, fled to England, and the "rights of the colonies" were both "asserted and proved."

No substitute for the stamp tax having been agreed upon by the colonial assemblies, the Stamp Act became a law (March, 1765). In the interval between the approval of the act and the date (1 November) at which it was to go into effect, disorderly bodies calling themselves "Sons of Liberty" organized a campaign of forcible resistance; with the result that, when the first of November arrived, stamps and stamped paper were not to be had. Meantime, the newspaper and pamphlet controversy continued. To a pamphlet written by Soame Jenyns, a member of Parliament, published in 1765, entitled *The Objections to the Taxation of Our American Colonies, by the Legislature of Great Britain, Briefly Considered*, Otis replied with *Considerations on Behalf of the Colonies, in a Letter to a Noble Lord*, the argument of which, save in its plea for leniency and consideration on the part of Great Britain in view of the extent and importance of the colonies, does not differ materially from that which the author had previously advanced. John Adams, "with the exception of Jefferson . . . the most readable of the statesmen of the Revolutionary period," now entered the lists with a series of four essays, published anonymously and without title in the Boston *Gazette* in August, 1765. Beginning with an examination of the "ecclesiatical and civil tyranny" which he found exemplified in the canon and feudal law, and of which the Stamp Act was held up as the consummate illustration, Adams traced the course of the historical struggle between corporate oppression and individual liberty and self-assertion. "Admitting we are children, have not children a right to complain when their parents are attempting to break their limbs, to administer poison, or to sell them to enemies for slaves?" Adams had read his history with a Puritan obsession, and neither his interpretation of facts nor his reasoning did him here much credit. The essays had influence, however. Reprinted in *The London Chronicle*, they were finally published in 1768, in revised form, under the misleading title of *A Dissertation on the Canon and the Feudal Law.*[1]

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[1] *Works*, III, 445-464.

With the resolutions,[1] memorials, and petitions of the Stamp Act Congress (October, 1765), we reach the first of the series of great state papers which, while of supreme value for the proper understanding of the constitutional position of the colonies, are also, in some respects, the most characteristic literary product of the Revolutionary period. Nowhere else in American literature does the peculiar gift of formal expression and logical exposition in politics show itself on so large a scale or in so great a cause, and in no country in the world has such expression moved so long and so consistently on a high plane, or voiced itself with so much dignity, condensed forcefulness, or formal beauty. For the most part the work of a few hands, and in some cases of composite authorship, the state papers of the American Revolution became, through their force of argument and sweep of phrase, the accepted statements of political faith, first for the patriot party, and then for the American people.

Of the important papers agreed to by the Stamp Act Congress, two—a declaration of rights and grievances and a petition to the king—were mainly the work of John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, whose notable career as a political writer, already begun in the controversial atmosphere of his own colony, was to earn for him the title of "the penman of the Revolution." At the end of the year 1765 Dickinson also published at Philadelphia a pamphlet entitled *The Late Regulations respecting the British Colonies on the Continent of America Considered, in a Letter from a Gentleman in Philadelphia to his Friend in London,*[2] which was reprinted in London and attracted favourable notice. A notable pamphlet, published anonymously, by Daniel Dulany of Maryland, one of the ablest of colonial lawyers, entitled *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies, for the Purpose of Raising a Revenue, by Act of Parliament*, in which the notion of the "virtual representation" of the colonies in Parliament was conclusively denied, appeared while the Stamp Act Congress was in session, and was also republished in London.

The repeal of the Stamp Act (March, 1766) caused a sudden cessation of the agitation in America; and the ominous Declaratory Act, asserting for the first time the right of Parliament "to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever," received little attention. In June, 1767, however, the New York assembly was suspended by act of Parliament for its refusal to comply with the requirements of an act for the quartering of troops; while the Townshend acts, which followed immediately, laid duties upon a number of colonial imports, established resident customs commissioners in America, legalized writs of assistance, and readjusted the tea duties in the interest of the hard-pressed East India Company. The colonies, in resisting the Stamp Act, had dwelt upon the unconstitutionality of internal taxation by a Parliament in which they were not represented. Townshend now sought to turn the tables by imposing the external taxes which he professed to think the colonies, by inference, had conceded the right of Parliament to impose.

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[1] Text in W. MacDonald, *Select Charters*, 314, 315.

[2] *Writings*, ed. Ford, I, 211–245.

The passage of the Townshend acts revived, though to a less wide extent, the controversy over colonial rights. Of the writings which attended this phase of the discussion, easily the most important is John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies.*[1] First published in a Philadelphia newspaper in 1767–68,[2] and reproduced from thence in most of the newspapers then issued in the colonies, they were in 1768 collected in a pamphlet, of which some eight editions appeared in America, two in London, one in Dublin, and a French version in Amsterdam. Without the legal mastery of Thacher or Dulany, but, fortunately, also without the discursiveness and extravagance of Otis or the intellectual and religious bias of John Adams, Dickinson reviewed, earnestly and directly, the colonial case; warned the colonies of the grave danger of admitting any form of parliamentary taxation, external or internal; sustained the right of protest and petition, and urged economy, thrift, and the development of American industry. Forcible resistance, indeed, is with him not to be thought of, and the idea of independence is spurned; yet at the same time Dickinson insists

> that we cannot be happy, without being free; that we cannot be free, without being secure in our property; that we cannot be secure

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[1] *Writings*, ed. Ford, I, 307–406.

[2] See also Book I, Chap. VII.

in our property, if, without our consent, others may, as by right, take it away; that taxes imposed on us by parliament, do thus take it away.

On the whole, it is the form rather than the substance of the *Letters from a Farmer* that is most original. Dickinson wrote as a cultivated, prosperous gentleman, addressing an audience of intelligent, but plain, people the soil of whose minds had been already somewhat prepared. What Dickinson did, and did with effective skill, was to present in attractive literary form the best of what had already been said and thought on behalf of the colonial claims, and to adapt the argument to the new crisis presented by the Townshend programme. Too patriotic to submit without a protest, and too thoughtful to rebel, he voiced more successfully, perhaps, than any other American publicist of his day, the sober second-thought of the great body of colonists who were ready to carry resistance to any point short of separation and war.

The Massachusetts Circular Letter[1] (11 February, 1768), prepared by Samuel Adams for a committee of the House of Representatives, and addressed to the speakers of other representative houses throughout the colonies, introduces to us the man who, more zealously and persistently than anyone else, devoted himself to achieving American independence. Holding the humble office of tax-collector in Boston, Adams's devotion to public causes, joined to a rare talent for political organization, had already made him the master of the Boston town-meeting and the leading spirit in the provincial House of Representatives. In the course of the bitter fight which he waged against Governor Bernard and Governor Hutchinson, and in furtherance of his relentless insistence upon the right of complete local self-government for the colonies, Adams drafted, in whole or in part, most of the resolutions and reports which made Massachusetts the leader in the constitutional struggle, and which also marked it for special punishment later at the hands of Parliament.

The Circular Letter, studiously dignified and respectful in tone, is the best summary statement of the colonial argument which had thus far been put forward. Admitting the supreme legislative authority of Parliament over the whole empire, it rests its case on the

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[1] Text in W. MacDonald, *Select Charters*, 331–334.

> essential, unalterable right, in nature, engrafted into the British constitution, as a fundamental law, and ever held sacred and irrevocable by the subjects within the realm, that what a man has honestly acquired is absolutely his own, which he may freely give, but cannot be taken from him without his consent.

So precious is the right of representation, and so great the "utter impracticability" of actually being represented in Parliament, that

> this House think that a taxation of their constituents, even without their consent, grievous as it is, would be preferable to any representation that could be admitted for them there.

Devotion to naked principle could go no farther, nor indicate more clearly the desired goal of independence.

The Townshend Revenue Act remained in force until April, 1770. The act produced an inappreciable revenue, necessitated extraordinary expenditures for its enforcement, and had no other effect upon the situation in America than to reawaken and solidify the colonial opposition to parliamentary taxation, and stimulate interest in the development of colonial manufactures and in the concerted non-importation and non-consumption of British goods. One of the first steps of the North ministry was to repeal it (1770), except the tax of three pence a pound on tea, retained to assert the principle of the Declaratory Act of 1766. For the next two years and more the agitation was not actively kept up, and even such violent disorders as the Boston Massacre (March, 1770) and the burning of the revenue schooner *Gaspée* (1772) occasioned hardly more than local excitement. Colonial newspapers continued to print essays on American rights, and houses of assembly embodied their views in resolutions; but these occasional writings, while doubtless not without their influence upon public opinion, hardly constitute a political literature of importance.

To this early period of revolutionary agitation belong also the first two volumes of Thomas Hutchinson's *History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (1764–67)[1] and the famous Hutchinson "Letters," which, although not made public until 1773, date from 1768–69. Written by Hutchinson, previous to his governorship, to a friend in England, the "Letters" discuss events in Massachusetts from the point of view of a loyalist official who, deeply attached to the colony, was also deeply concerned at the grave course which affairs were taking, and who could honestly declare:

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[1] See also Book I, Chap. II.

> I wish the good of the colony when I wish to see some further restraint of liberty rather than the connexion with the parent state should be broken; for I am sure such a breach must prove the ruin of the colony.

By means never divulged, Franklin, in 1773, got possession of the letters and sent them to friends in Boston, where their publication greatly intensified the hostility to Hutchinson and precipitated his recall.

With the destruction of the tea at Boston (16 December, 1773), the controversy between the colonies and the mother country entered upon the stage which was to lead to a declaration of independence and to war. In February, 1774, at a hearing before the Privy Council on a petition from Massachusetts for Hutchinson's removal, Franklin was bitterly denounced for his connection with the Hutchinson letters, and was presently removed from his office of deputy postmaster-general for North America. In March, the port of Boston was by statute closed to commerce, except in food, after 1 June, until compensation should be made to the East India Company for the loss of the tea. In May, the charter of Massachusetts was so altered by act of Parliament as largely to deprive the colony of self-government, while by another statute provision was made for the trial in England, or in another colony, of persons accused of murder or other capital offence because of anything done by them in suppressing riots or enforcing the revenue laws. In June, more stringent regulations were enacted for the quartering of troops. General Gage had already arrived at Boston as military governor, and the coercion of the colony began.

The first Continental Congress, which met at Philadelphia 5 September, adopted a set of "Declarations and Resolves,"[1] similar in tone and general argument to those of the Stamp Act Congress, but containing a significant admission of the right of Parliament to regulate the external trade of the colonies, provided the aim were regulation and not taxation. A petition to the king and an address to the inhabitants of Canada, both drafted by Dickinson, were also adopted, together with a memorial to the inhabitants of British America, drawn by Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, and an eloquent address to the people of Great Britain, the work of John Jay of New York, later the first chief-justice of the United States Supreme Court. An agreement known as the "Association"[1] pledged the people of the colonies to commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain, and to the encouragement of industry, economy, and neighbourly kindness. Copies of these various state papers were separately printed and widely circulated.

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[1] Text in W. MacDonald, *Select Charters*, 357–361.

The passage of the coercive acts, and the assembling of a Congress to consider plans of united resistance, stirred anew the fires of literary controversy. In May, 1774, the same month that saw the arrival of Gage and the British troops at Boston, Josiah Quincy published at that place his *Observations on the Act of Parliament, commonly called the Boston Port-Bill; with Thoughts on Civil Society and Standing Armies.* Quincy was a brilliant young lawyer, who, in company with John Adams, had chivalrously defended the British soldiers indicted for participation in the Boston Massacre, in 1770. A competent critic[2] has suggested that the larger part of the pamphlet, dealing with "civil society and standing armies," had been carefully prepared some time before, advantage being taken of the Port Act to publish the work with an expanded title. Quincy's pamphlet was shortly followed by James Wilson's *Considerations on the Nature and the Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament*, an ingenious rejection of such authority in favour of allegiance to the king alone. The writer, a young lawyer of Philadelphia, was later to contribute powerfully to the acceptance of the Federal Constitution by Pennsylvania.

Not all who entered the lists, however, agreed so unreservedly with the sentiments of Congress or of the patriot leaders. A series of papers in *The Pennsylvania Packet*, reprinted in a pamphlet with the title *A Few Political Reflections Submitted to the Consideration of the British Colonies, by a Citizen of Philadelphia*, and attributed to Richard Wells, urged compensation for the tea and the abandonment of violent protest, at the same time arguing for united rejection of the claim to taxation on the ground that the colonies were too old and too strong to be kept in leading-strings. An anonymous *Letter from a Virginian*, addressed to the Congress at Philadelphia, went further and frankly questioned the constitutional soundness and political wisdom of the arguments put forth by the Congress.

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[1] Text in W. MacDonald. *Select Charters*, 362–367.

[2] Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, I, 272 note.

No history of the American Revolution, or of the political literature to which it gave birth, would be complete without consideration of the loyalists. That independence was in fact the work of a minority, and that the methods by which the loyal majority was overawed and, in part, expelled were as high-handed and cruel as they were active and vigorous, must be freely conceded. Weighty as was the colonial argument, force and violence were freely employed to give effect to it. But the great loyalist party, numbering among its leaders many of the ablest, most devoted, and wealthiest men in colonial life, was not crushed without a struggle; and the arguments with which its adherents defended their cause and sought to defeat that of their opponents were not less ably put or trenchantly phrased than those of the patriots themselves.

Soon after the "Association" agreement of the Continental Congress was adopted (October, 1774), there was published in New York the first of four pamphlets by a "Westchester Farmer." The author was the Rev. Samuel Seabury, then and for some time rector of St. Peter's Church, Westchester, and later, by time's curious working, first bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. The four pamphlets, entitled respectively *Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress*, *The Congress Canvassed*, *A View of the Controversy between Great-Britain and her Colonies*, and *An Alarm to the Legislature of the Province of New-York*, were a powerful attack upon the aims and policy of the Congress and the patriot leaders, and a plea for such adjustment as would assure to the colonies local self-government, on the one hand, with full recognition of parliamentary authority on the other. For writing the pamphlets Seabury was mobbed, imprisoned, and hounded until in 1776 he took refuge within the British lines.

It was in reply to the first of Seabury's pamphlets that Alexander Hamilton, then a college student of seventeen, made anonymously his first essay in authorship with *A Full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress, from the Calumnies of their Enemies* (1774) and *A Farmer Refuted* (1775). None of the pamphleteers of the Revolutionary period excels Hamilton in the logical acumen and expository power which he here displays, and none approached him in his clear discernment of the theatre and character of the war, if war must be. Yet even Hamilton, with all his precocious intellectual power, failed to point out beyond peradventure how union with the Empire under allegiance to the king comported with a denial of the legislative power of Parliament. The only outcome for the colonies was independence, and independence was the word which, as yet, most colonial leaders appeared anxious to avoid.

Before the attacks of the "Westchester Farmer" had ceased, Daniel Leonard, a Boston lawyer of social prominence, began the publication in a loyalist newspaper, over the pen-name of "Massachusettensis," of a series of seventeen letters, *To the Inhabitants of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay* (1774–75). Seabury had emphasized the impracticability and political unwisdom of the recommendations of the Congress. Leonard assailed the unconstitutional arguments of the patriots, and the revolutionary character of their attacks upon parliamentary enactments and crown officers.

The task of combating the influence of "Massachusettensis" was undertaken by John Adams, who, early in 1775, published in the Boston *Gazette*, over the signature of "Novanglus," a series of letters traversing Leonard's argument. Twelve articles had appeared when the battle of Lexington (19 April, 1775) intervened. Adams did not lack legal knowledge or logical proficiency, but he was no match for Leonard in debate, nor could he keep to the point; and although the republication of the letters in London, and a reprint many years later in the United States, gave some vogue to the name "Novanglus," the essays won no permanent distinction either for themselves or for their author. It was as a hard-working member of the Continental Congress, and not as a writer or political philosopher, that Adams made his worthiest contribution to the American cause.

To a different class belong the numerous writings of Joseph Galloway, a delegate from Pennsylvania to the first Continental Congress. Already prominent in the politics of his colony, Galloway submitted to the Congress a *Plan of a Proposed Union between Great Britain and the Colonies.* Read in the light of the present day, the scheme seems like a suggestive anticipation of later British colonial policy; but the Congress, after debating it at length, and rejecting it by the narrow majority of a single vote, trampled it under foot, and ordered all reference to it expunged from the printed journal. Galloway later published the plan in *A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great Britain and the Colonies* (New York, 1775). In 1778, after two years spent with the British forces, Galloway went to England, where he was thought sufficiently important to be examined before the House of Commons, and where he continued to publish pamphlets on America until the end of the war.

Another New York loyalist, President Myles Cooper of King's College (now Columbia), gifted with wit and sarcasm above most of his fellows, entered the lists in 1774 with two anonymous pamphlets—*The American Querist: or, Some Questions Proposed relative to the Present Disputes between Great Britain and her American Colonies*, and *A Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans.* In August, 1775, a mob stripped and mutilated him, but he contrived to escape to a British ship-of-war, and thence to England, where he obtained ecclesiastical preferment. Charles Lee, soon to be numbered among the renegades and traitors, but at the moment in the enjoyment of a repute as a military expert which he had done little to earn, replied to Cooper with some cleverness in *Strictures on a Pamphlet, entitled a 'Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans'* (1775)—the only contribution of Lee's to the patriot cause for which he may be appreciatively remembered.

Although not published until 1797, by which time the author had been for more than twenty years resident in England, Jonathan Boucher's *A View of the Causes and Consequences* *of the American Revolution* may perhaps be included in our enumeration of loyalist writings. From 1762 to 1775 Boucher was rector of parishes in Maryland and Virginia, finding time, however, to take an active part in colonial politics. The volume referred to, dedicated to Washington and prefaced by an extended introduction, consists of thirteen sermons preached to his American congregations, and forms as a whole the best presentation of the loyalist cause as embraced and championed by an Anglican minister. For his boldness, however, his parishioners drove him into exile, in common with many another clergyman who held similar views.

Mention should also be made here of the poems of Philip Freneau and John Trumbull, although the fuller discussion of their literary significance belongs elsewhere in this work.[1] The first of Freneau's poems of the Revolution, *On the Conqueror of America Shut up in Boston* and *General Gage's Soliloquy*, were published in the summer of 1775, while the siege of Boston was in progress. Trumbull, whose muse had already responded to some of the earlier incidents of the war, published the first canto of *McFingal* in January, 1776. Grounded, as were the writings of both of these authors, in a clear, popular understanding of the points at issue, and foreshadowing, in Freneau's case, the ultimate attainment of independence, the satirical humour of the poems confirmed the faithful and strengthened the wavering quite as effectively as state papers or pamphlet treatises.

The great influence of Benjamin Franklin, covering the entire period of the revolutionary struggle, was exerted chiefly through the customary channels of diplomacy, and in a voluminous correspondence with friends and public men on both sides of the Atlantic; and his contemporary publications, comparatively few in number, carried weight because of their directness and sturdy common sense, and of the fame of their writer as a scientist or as the author of *Poor Richard's Almanac* or as the skilful champion of the colonial cause in England, rather than because of their literary merit or their substantive contribution to the American argument. The report of his *Examination*[2] before the House of Commons (1766), while the repeal of the Stamp Act was under discussion, showed a statesmanlike knowledge of American conditions, and dexterity and boldness in defending the patriot cause. In January, 1768, he contributed to *The London Chronicle* an article entitled *Causes of the American Discontents before 1768*, and later in the year he wrote a short preface for a London reprint of Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer*.

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[1] See Book I, Chap. IX.

[2] *Writings*, ed. Smyth, IV, 412–448.

For the next five years Franklin was occupied with his duties as colonial agent of Massachusetts, Georgia, and other colonies. His writings during that period consist almost wholly of letters, and of articles on electricity and economic subjects. Then, in September, 1773, he attacked the colonial policy of Hillsborough in *Rules by which a Great Empire may be reduced to a Small One*, following this, early in 1774, with an article *On the Rise and Progress of the Differences between Great Britain and Her American Colonies*. The publication of the Hutchinson letters, although it brought official censure and cost Franklin the loss of a remunerative office, did not materially affect his reputation or weaken his influence; but a *Tract relative to the Affair of Hutchinson's Letters*, written in 1774, was, possibly from prudential reasons, not published.[1]

That persistent opposition to Parliament, whether through elaborated constitutional arguments or by such practical devices as commercial non-intercourse, might in the end raise the issue of independence, had early been perceived; and the earnest protestations of loyalty to the crown which are found in the resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress or the declaration and resolves of the First Continental Congress, if read chiefly in the light of subsequent events, do not seem entirely unequivocal. Not until late in 1775, however, after armed collisions had occurred at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, after Gage had been hopelessly besieged at Boston, and after a second Continental Congress, assuming the general direction of affairs, had begun the organization of a revolutionary government, appointed Washington commander-in-chief, and taken the first steps toward obtaining foreign aid, did the demand for independence, or even the disposition seriously to consider it, become general.

Of the writings which contributed immediately to the final break, the foremost place must be given to Thomas Paine's

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[1] For Franklin, see also Book I, Chap. VI.

Common Sense (1776). Paine, after an unimportant and not wholly respectable career in England, came to America in 1774, in his thirty-eighth year, armed with introductions from Franklin, and settled at Philadelphia. His pamphlet *Common Sense*, published in January, 1776, seized the psychological moment. Brushing aside all legal and historical argument as no longer to the point, and resorting to the wildest exaggeration and misrepresentation for the purpose of discrediting England and its people, Paine laid his finger on the heart of the situation. The colonies had gone too far to turn back. They were already alienated. The British connection was no longer valuable to them, and reconciliation would be an evil rather than a good. Common sense dictated that they should be free. Enthusiastic acclaim from leaders and public, and a sale of over 100,000 copies within three months, attested the success and power of Paine's first essay in political pamphleteering.

Sweeping as Paine's success was, the course of events had nevertheless prepared the way. In February, 1775, Lord North had startled the House of Commons by introducing and passing a conciliatory resolution; but the offer, unsatisfactory less because of its terms than because of want of confidence in the ministry and the king, had been effectually prejudiced by the passage, in March and April, of bills restraining the trade of the colonies to Great Britain and the British West Indies, and by further provisions for the prosecution of the war. It was on the first of the restraining bills, that relating to New England, that Burke made his great speech on conciliation. In June came the battle of Bunker Hill and the appointment of Washington as commander-in-chief. On 6 July Congress adopted a *Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms*,[1] the joint work of Dickinson and Jefferson, and one of the greatest of the state papers of the Revolution. Still protesting that "we have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states," the declaration reviewed, vigorously but with dignity, the course of recent events, protested in the name of liberty against a policy that would enslave the colonies, and proclaimed solemnly the intention of fighting until freedom was assured.

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[1] Text in W. MacDonald, *Select Charters*, 374-381.

> In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it—for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our fore-fathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

Two days later (8 July) a last petition to the king once more protested loyalty and devotion, and prayed the interposition of the crown to bring about reconciliation. At the end of the month, however, in an elaborate report drawn by Jefferson, Lord North's offer of conciliation was emphatically, almost contemptuously, rejected. In August a royal proclamation declared the colonies in rebellion. Franklin, meantime, had quietly slipped out of England and returned to America, where he was at once elected to Congress. He had withstood to the last the encroachments of parliamentary authority in England, and was now to witness the passing of royal authority in America. With the rejection of petitions on the one side and of compromise on the other, Paine could well urge that the time had come to act.

For the writing of the Declaration of Independence (4 July, 1776) Jefferson had had some preparation, in a way, through two publications already favourably known to members of the Congress. In 1774 he had published at Williamsburg *A Summary View of the Rights of British America, Set Forth in Some Resolutions Intended for the Instruction of the Present Delegates of the People of Virginia now in Convention*, in which, with somewhat flamboyant boldness of phrase, he had offered to the king "the advice of your great American council," and had appealed to him to open his breast "to liberal and expanded thought," that the name of George the Third might not be "a blot in the page of history." In June, 1775, he had framed an *Address of the House of Burgesses*, on the subject of Lord North's conciliatory resolution, which was adopted by the house and served as the model for the report on the same resolution which was approved by the Congress in July. He had also, as we have seen, collaborated with Dickinson in the preparation of the *Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms*.

The real preparation, however, lay, not in Jefferson's training or skill as a writer, nor in the possession by him of extraordinary insight or prophetic vision, but in the succession of events for the fifteen years past and in the innumerable pamphlets and essays which those had called out. The conduct of the king, the ministry, and the Parliament, the history and necessities of the colonies, and the constitutional foundations of empire had all been repeatedly and ably examined by lawyers and publicists, and the findings set forth by accomplished writers, long before Jefferson was called upon to say the final word. Of all the criticisms that have been passed upon the *Declaration of Independence*, the least to the point is that it is not original. The material was at hand, the argument had been elaborated, the conclusions had been drawn. For originality there was as little opportunity as there was need. What was required now was a concise summing up of the whole matter, full enough to give a clear impression of completeness, vigorous and bold enough to serve as a national manifesto, and polished, dignified, and incisive enough to catch the ear, to linger in the memory, and to bear endless repetition. That Jefferson met this need with consummate success, working into one brief statement doctrine, accusation, argument, and declaration of freedom, was a demonstration that the hour and the man had met.

The period of active hostilities (1775-1781), which had already begun when the Declaration of Independence was adopted, was not characterized by literary activity. On the American side, at least, the case had been fully stated, and with the decision of the Congress to accept no terms of conciliation that did not recognize independence, there was no longer an English-speaking audience to which to appeal; while to France and Holland, whose aid was sought, the appeal was necessarily diplomatic rather than literary. With the recourse to arms, pamphleteers and essayists entered the army, or busied themselves with public service in Congress, state, or local community. Dickinson, who had drawn back when independence severed allegiance to the crown, nevertheless shouldered a musket. The loyalists were overawed or driven out, and their writings belong thereafter to the countries of their exile. Newspapers were few, paper was scarce, mails were infrequent and precarious, schools and colleges were interrupted or suspended altogether.

Of publication and writing of certain sorts, on the other hand, there was a considerable volume. The *Journal of the Continental Congress*, published from time to time, with the exception of such parts as were thought to require secrecy,[1] is an invaluable record of proceedings, although it contains no report of debates. Numerous reports, resolutions, and other state papers of importance were, however, printed separately in broadside or pamphlet form for the use of members of Congress or for wider distribution. The acts and resolutions of the state legislatures, so far as such bodies were able to meet, were also printed, together with occasional proclamations and other public documents.

The letters of American statesmen, particularly Washington, Franklin, John Adams, Samuel Adams, John Jay, and Patrick Henry, published long afterwards in collected editions, existed for the most part only in manuscript; but their quasi-public character, together with their circulation from hand to hand, often gave to them, to an extent much greater than would be the case today, though within limited circles, the essential character of publications. Larger audiences, but still local, were reached by sermons, many of which, especially those of the New England clergy, dealt much with the war and the political issues of the time. Comparatively few of these, however, were printed contemporaneously. Of great importance to an understanding of the revolutionary struggle are the journals and letter-books of soldiers and officers, both American and British, and the controversial narratives and defences of Burgoyne, Cornwallis, Clinton, and others regarding the conduct of military affairs; but few of these are predominantly political in character, almost none were printed in America at the time, and the publication of nearly all of those by American authors dates from years long subsequent to the war.

Of the war-time pamphlets, the most important are the series to which the author, Thomas Paine, gave the title of *The Crisis*. The first issue of the series had its origin in the gloom and despondency occasioned by Washington's famous retreat across New Jersey, in the fall and early winter of 1776; a retreat which to many seemed to presage the speedy collapse of the American cause. On 18 December, Washington, irritated and alarmed at the rapid dwindling of his army under the operation of short-term enlistment, wrote to his brother:

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[1] The material in the *Secret Journals*, 4 vols., Boston, 1821, is included in the Ford and Hunt edition of the *Journals* (see Bibliography).

> Between you and me, I think our affairs are in a very bad situation; not so much from the apprehension of General Howe's army, as from the defection of New York, Jerseys, and Pennsylvania . . . In a word, my dear Sir, if every nerve is not strained to recruit the new army with all possible expedition, I think the game is pretty near up.

The next day there issued from the press the first number of *The Crisis*, with its ringing call:

> These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. . . . Up and help us; lay your shoulders to the wheel; better have too much force than too little, when so great an object is at stake. . . . The heart that feels not now, is dead.

Sixteen of these stirring pamphlets, produced as the hopes and fears, the successes and failures of the war gave occasion, were issued down to the end of 1783, when the series ended.

With the surrender of Cornwallis (October, 1781), the active military and naval operations of the war practically ceased. Nearly two years were to elapse before the treaty of peace (September, 1783) formally recognized the independence of the United States; but independence had been achieved in fact, and the way was now open for the discussion of new political problems. A frame of government, the *Articles of Confederation*, had gone into effect in March, 1781; and when fighting ended, Congress and the country turned their attention to the pressing questions of finance, the development and administration of the West, the restoration of normal conditions in industry, commerce, and social life, and the perfection of the Federal union. It is not without significance that, among the statesmen whose defence of colonial rights had developed both the theory and the practice of revolution, there were many who were now to set the United States forward in the next stage of its career.

For the replacement of the Articles of Confederation by the "more perfect" union of the Federal Constitution, private correspondence, as in the case of the Revolution, did much to prepare the way. Jefferson and John Adams were absent from the country on diplomatic service, the former in France, the latter at the Court of St. James; and Franklin, prince of American diplomatists, was not, in the larger field of government, a constructive statesman. But Washington, Madison, Jay, Hamilton, Patrick Henry, and other leaders were busy with their pens, discussing with one another, particularly in the interval from 1785 to 1787, the defects of the Articles, the need of a firmer national organization, and the practical possibilities of united action. Prominent in this epistolary discussion were such questions as the protection and encouragement of American commerce, retaliation against England for its imperfect observance of the terms of peace, the adjustment of the opposing interests of large and small states, and the provision of an adequate revenue for the payment of the revolutionary debt and the maintenance of the Federal establishment.

In May, 1787, the Federal Convention met at Philadelphia. In anticipation of its deliberations, Madison set down his opinion as to the *Vices of the Political System of the United States*,[1] and prepared a summary view *Of Ancient and Modern Confederacies*.[2] The former noted most of the important points around which the debate later turned, but there is nothing in the Constitution to show that the latter had influence with the convention. The convention was preëminently a practical body. The sources of the Federal Constitution are in the government of England, the constitutions of the states, the Articles of Confederation, and the experience of the country and of Congress under the Articles. The *Journal* of the convention comprises only a bare record of proceedings, and does not report debates; the proceedings, moreover, were behind closed doors. For our knowledge of what was said, as distinguished from what was voted, we are dependent upon Madison's elaborate *Notes*, taken down at the time and corrected and supplemented by the journal; some *Minutes* of Yates, a New York delegate; a *Report* by Luther Martin to the Maryland assembly[1]; and the letters, many of them still unpublished, of members of the convention. The elaborate publication of documents, debates, and reports which commonly attends a modern state constitutional convention was conspicuously lacking.

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[1] *Writings*, ed. Hunt, II, 361–369.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, 369–390.

While the convention was in session, there was published at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, in separate editions, the first volume of John Adams's *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America.* This work, written and first published in London, was occasioned, the author states, by Turgot's sweeping attack upon the American theory of government, contained in a letter to Dr. Richard Price, in 1778, and published by Price in his *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution, and the Means of Making it a Benefit to the World* (1785). Two additional volumes appeared in 1788.[2] The prominence of the author gave the work, especially the first volume, some vogue; but the disorderly arrangement, the verbose and careless style, the many glaring inaccuracies and inconsistencies due to hasty writing and negligent proofreading, a political philosophy nowhere profound, and the characteristic temper of the advocate rather than of the expositor, did Adams no credit; while his frank criticisms of some features of American government opened the way for attacks upon his sincerity and loyalty which followed him throughout his life. To this disfavour the "worship of the Constitution" as a perfect instrument, which began soon after the successful establishment of the government under it, undoubtedly contributed.

With the adjournment of the Convention in September, and the submission of the Constitution to ratifying conventions in the states, the public became for the first time acquainted with the pending scheme of government; and the great debate on ratification began. The newspapers teemed with political essays, and pamphlets multiplied. The Constitution lacked neither friends nor foes. On the side of the Constitution were

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[1] The foregoing are included in Elliott's *Debates* and Farrand's *Records of the Federal Convention* (see Bibliography).

[2] *Works*, IV, V.

James Sullivan of Massachusetts, with his eleven letters of *Cassius*; Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, with thirteen letters of *A Landholder;* Roger Sherman of the same state, who contributed five letters of *A Countryman* and two of *A Citizen of New Haven*; and John Dickinson, in his *Letters of Fabius.* The opposing views of the Anti-federalists were vigorously set forth by *Agrippa*, whose eighteen letters are probably to be ascribed to James Winthrop of Massachusetts; by George Clinton of New York, who published seven letters under the name of *Cato*; by Robert Yates, in two letters of *Sydney*; and in seven letters by Luther Martin.[1]

The pamphlet literature was equally important. Noah Webster, best known to later generations as a lexicographer, came to the support of the new instrument in *An Examination into the Leading Principles of the Federal Constitution;* as did John Jay, in *An Address to the People of the State of New York;* Pelatiah Webster of Philadelphia, in *The Weakness of Brutus Exposed*, a reply to the first of a series of sixteen essays ascribed to Thomas Treadwell of New York; Tench Coxe, in *An Examination of the Constitution*, written over the pseudonym of "An American Citizen"; and David Ramsay, in *An Address to the Freemen of South Carolina.* The opposition was represented by Elbridge Gerry's *Observations on the New Constitution;* Melanchthon Smith's *Address to the People of the State of New York*, and preëminently by Richard Henry Lee, in his *Observations leading to a Fair Examination of the System of Government proposed by the late Convention*, and by George Mason of Virginia, in his *Objections to the proposed Federal Constitution*, to the latter of whom James Iredell of North Carolina made an elaborate rejoinder.[2]

Incomparably superior, whether in content, or in form, or in permanent influence, to all the other political writing of the period are the eighty-five essays known collectively as *The Federalist.* The essays, the joint work of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, appeared in the New York *Independent Journal* during the seven months beginning October, 1787. They had been preceded, and to a considerable extent called out, by a series of attacks upon the new Constitution contributed by Governor

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[1] All the foregoing are reprinted in P. L. Ford, *Essays on the Constitution.*

[2] The foregoing are collected in P. L. Ford, *Pamphlets on the Constitution.*

George Clinton and Robert Yates to the New York *Journal*, over the pen-names of "Cato" and "Brutus" respectively. The authorship of a few of the essays has been an interesting problem of historical criticism, but four were the work of Jay, fourteen were certainly written by Madison, three are probably to be ascribed to Madison, nine are probably Hamilton's, three are the work of Hamilton and Madison jointly, and the remaining fifty-one are the work of Hamilton.[1] The plan was Hamilton's, moreover, and his influence undoubtedly dominated all the numbers of the series, whoever the particular author.

The papers of *The Federalist* are in part an account of the merits and defects of confederacies, and a discussion of the difficulties and advantages of union, and in part an examination of the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation and a defence of the provisions of the proposed Constitution. Their actual influence upon the ratification of the Constitution in New York, which was the chief reason for writing them, has probably been overrated, nor are they free from partisan bias and the kind of popular argument likely to be effective in political debate. As the earliest contemporary exposition, in extended form, of the Constitution, however, they occupy a unique position. Written in the heat of controversy, and before the great structure of American constitutional law had even been begun, they forecast with extraordinary acuteness some of the most fundamental principles of constitutional interpretation which the federal courts were later to adopt, as well as some of the grave political issues on which party lines were to form. Judicial reference and quotation have given to *The Federalist* a weight of authority second only to that of the Constitution itself, and upon the authorship of the larger part of its pages the reputation of Hamilton as a publicist mainly rests.

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[1] This follows the classification in Ford's edition.

CHAPTER IX

The Beginnings of Verse, 1610–1808

THE two centuries that cover the beginnings of American poetry may be divided into three periods. The first period is that of the early colonial verse which begins in 1610 with the publication of Rich's ballad on the settlement of Jamestown and ends with the seventeenth century. With 1700 begins the second period, which is one of transition in purpose, subject, and style. The third period, which is marked by the beginnings of nationalism, opens with the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765 and closes with the publication of Bryant's *Embargo* in 1808.

Even in the light of the unliterary conditions that prevailed in the Southern and Middle colonies it is surprising to find how little verse was produced south of New England before the middle of the eighteenth century. The Southern colonists were not of a literary class, and probably would have written little or nothing under any conditions; in the Southern colonies and, to a less degree, in the Middle colonies, conditions were distinctly unfavourable to literature; and in Virginia, especially, there were no schools, no printing presses, no literary centres, and few people who cared to write books or, apparently, to read them. Yet, though the New England of the seventeenth century left us many thousands of lines of verse of various kinds, as against the less than one thousand lines left by all the colonies to the south of that region, it was Virginia that produced what is perhaps the one real American poem of the seventeenth century. This is the epitaph on the insurrectionary leader Nathaniel Bacon, written "by his Man." The "Man" clearly was no menial but a reader and a poet. His brief elegy of forty-four lines is worthy of Ben

Jonson himself, and is indeed written in that great elegist's dignified, direct, and manly style:

> In a word
> *Marss* and *Minerva*, both in him Concurd
> For arts, for arms, whose pen and sword alike
> As *Catos* did, may admireation strike
> In to his foes; while they confess with all
> It was their guilt stil'd him a Criminall.

Maryland has even less to show than Virginia. The rhyming tags of verse appended to the chapters of George Alsop's *Character of the Province of Maryland* (1666) cannot be taken seriously. The description of Maryland contained in the *Carmen Seculare* of a certain Mr. Lewis shows that Pope had not yet reached Baltimore in 1732, however at home he may have been in Boston and Philadelphia. Of the same type is a *True Relation of the Flourishing State of Pennsylvania* (1686), by John Holme, a resident of that colony. The *True Relation* is utilitarian in purpose and homely in style, but on the whole its five hundred lines in various metres, with their catalogues of native animals and plants in the manner of William Wood's verses in his *New England's Prospect*, are rather pleasing. New York produced practically no English verse until the Revolution; and the Carolinas and Georgia continued barren until near the close of the eighteenth century, when Charleston became something of a literary centre. But Pennsylvania came to be fairly prolific early in the transition period, and continued so for almost a century until New York and Boston, as literary centres, finally displaced Philadelphia.

The earliest New England verse was as utilitarian and matter-of-fact as any prose. Narratives of the voyages, annals of the colonies, descriptions of flora, fauna, and scenery, written in the main for readers in the mother country, were versified merely for the sake of the jingle. Altogether this descriptive and historical verse amounts to less than a thousand lines. *A Looking Glass for the Times* (1677), by Peter Folger of Nantucket, derives interest from the fact that it was written by the maternal grandfather of Benjamin Franklin. Its four hundred lines in ballad quatrains are very bad verse, however, and, though it has been termed "A manly plea for toleration in an age of intolerance," there is still question as to whether it was actually published in the author's lifetime and, consequently, whether Folger ran any risk. The most important piece of historical verse in this period was the work of the first native-born American poet, Benjamin Tompson (1644–1714), who, as his tombstone at Roxbury informs us, was a "learned schoolmaster and physician and the renowned poet of New England," and is "mortuus sed immortalis." His chief production, *New England's Crises*, is a formal attempt at an epic on King Philip's War. The prologue pictures early society in New England and recounts the decadence in manners and morals that has brought about the crisis,—the war as God's punishment. The six hundred and fifty lines of pentameter couplets are somewhat more polished than those of the poet's contemporaries, and might suggest the influence of Dryden if there were any external reason for supposing that the Restoration poets gained admission to early New England. Tompson's classical allusions, part of his epic attempt, are in amusing contrast to his rugged and homely diction, but his poem as a whole has at least the virtue of simplicity, and is interesting as the first of a long line of narratives in verse which recount the events of the wars fought on American soil.

A Brief Account of the Agency of the Honorable John Winthrop [in obtaining a charter for Connecticut], though not published until 1725, belongs in purpose and style to the seventeenth century. The author, Roger Wolcott, afterwards governor of Connecticut, was little more of a poet than Governor Bradford, but his literary pretensions ally him with Benjamin Tompson. His couplets are rugged and his diction prosaic, in the main, but the heroic style of the battle scenes and the lofty similes employed by the hero as he recounts to Charles II the settlement and the history of the Colony, show that Wolcott too was consciously attempting an epic. His poem is a link between the unliterary historical and descriptive verse of early New England and the more pretentious epics that appeared so abundantly during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

The most characteristic poetic products of early New England are the memorial poems. Subsequent generations have made merry over their matter and style, and indeed little can be said in their favour if they are to be taken as an index to the poetic taste of the time and not simply as conventional tributes to the dead. If, however, the New England elegy is to be judged on its literary merits, we should remember that it was not an isolated type, unique in the poverty of its matter and style, but that it simply reflected its English origin and was closely related to its English counterparts. Unlike the English, though, the writers of New England did not evolve a better style of their own, the elegies at the close of the century being, if anything, worse than those at the beginning. Perhaps Quarles was chiefly responsible for their pentameter couplets, rough with run-on lines and imperfect rhymes. Despite occasional variety of form in six-line stanza or quatrain, there is little variety of tone or style; and in all these thousands of lines scarcely a line of genuine poetry, or a single poem worth preservation in its entirety.

The succession of these elegies is surprisingly unbroken for at least forty years. Both authors and subjects are in the main the divines who controlled the destinies of New England and who provided its literature. When such an elegy as that on the Rev. Thomas Shepard by the Rev. Urian Oakes, president of Harvard, is discovered amid this dreary elegiac waste, its merits are sure to be exaggerated. This poem in fifty six-line stanzas, though commonplace in thought and style, is not without pathos, and gives an impression of sincerity. But the Rev. Urian Oakes himself was not so fortunate in his elegist, no less a person than the Rev. Cotton Mather, the most prolific elegist of his time. His elegy on Oakes reaches a length of over four hundred lines. To adorn his subject he "ransacks the ages, spoils the climes"; his pentameters and his quatrains are mere doggerel, his rhymes are atrocious, and his lines rife with conceits and puns and classical and biblical allusions. John Cleveland at his best could do no worse. The real feeling that probably inspired Mather's writing is obscured by the laboured insincerity of his style. But the nadir is reached by the Rev. Nicholas Noyes (1647–1717), who in his elegies on the Rev. John Higginson and the Rev. Joseph Green shows promising possibilities of bathos, but who in his poem on the Rev. James Brayley's attack of the stone revels in such a plethora of conceits and puns as to put to the blush his most gifted English contemporaries. The one elegiac poem of early New England that may be worth preserving is the *Funeral Song* (1709), written by the Rev. Samuel Wigglesworth, son of Michael, on the death of his friend Nathaniel Clarke. Together with its real feeling, it exhibits a certain felicity of diction that bespeaks Elizabethan models; and such phrases as "where increate eternity's concealed," "solemn music," and "warbling divinest airs," seem to show that Milton had reached New England. As a genre the elegy died with the decline of the clergy, and passed as a fashion passes with changed conditions.

The most interesting as well as the most pleasing figure in early New England verse is that of Anne Bradstreet, who was "fathered and husbanded" respectively by Thomas Dudley and Simon Bradstreet, both in their time governors of Massachusetts. Born in London in 1612, she emigrated in 1630 with her husband and died in 1672. Although the mother of eight children, she found time to write over seven thousand lines of verse in what must have been, to her, peculiarly uncongenial surroundings. Her brother-in-law, the Rev. John Woodbridge, when on a visit to London in 1650, published without her knowledge her poems under the title of *The Tenth Muse, Lately Sprung Up in America*, and a second edition followed in Boston in 1678. That her poems were read and admired is attested by such poetic tributes as that of Nathaniel Ward, who affirms that she was "a right Du Bartas girle," and represents Apollo as unable to decide whether Du Bartas or the New England Muse was the more excellent poet. But Anne Bradstreet was not a poet; she was a winsome personality in an unlovely age. That she should have written verse at all was phenomenal, but that it should have been poor verse was inevitable. Her *Exact Epitome of the Four Monarchies*, in several thousand lines of bad pentameter couplets, is simply a rhyming chronicle of the medieval type, the matter of which was supplied by Raleigh's *History of the World*. Her *Four Elements, Constitutions, Ages of Man, and Seasons of the Year*, almost equally worthless as poetry, is an interesting adaptation of Sylvester's translation of the *Divine Weeks*. She repeatedly states her admiration for Du Bartas and her indebtedness to him. Thirteen lines in the second day of the first week of his poem suggested her theme, and this she expands in the form of a medieval *debat*; other passages from Du Bartas she condenses, expands, or merely paraphrases. She gives only about 1800 lines to the entire exposition of her elements, humours, ages, and seasons; hence she uses but a small part of the encyclopædic material of the French poem. The feeble New England imitation cannot compare with the original. Du Bartas, though often flat and prosaic, is immense in his range, and is at times even a poet; Anne Bradstreet's range is narrow; her allusions are merely to the best known historical and mythological characters; her descriptions of natural phenomena, though she might be expected to find original inspiration in her New England environment, are vague and conventional. In occasional lines of Sylvester's translation occurs something of Elizabethan spaciousness; the only meritorious lines of Anne Bradstreet's poem occur in the *Spring;*

> The fearfull bird his little house now builds
> In trees and walls, in Cities and in fields.
> The outside strong, the inside warm and neat,
> A natural Artificer compleat.

The verse of all her longer poems is precisely that of Sylvester—a couplet, not quite loose, but less compact than the heroic couplet, with the characteristic Elizabethan freedom in rhyme and with the shifting caesura. It is not, however, in these long, dreary, and purely didactic poems that Anne Bradstreet shows her real capacity. When she walks in happier paths, with a song in her heart, remembering Spenser and Giles Fletcher, she shows that perhaps in more fortunate times she might have written poetry. Her *Contemplations* is a meditative and descriptive poem in thirty-three seven-line stanzas, in which occur passages at least pleasing in suggestion and rhythm, however reminiscent of greater times and talents:

> When I behold the heavens as in their prime,
> And then the earth (though old) stil clad in green,
> The stones and trees, insensible to time,
> Nor age nor wrinkle on their front are seen;
> If winter come, and greeness then do fade,
> A Spring returns, and they more youthfull made;
> But Man grows old, lies down, remains where once he's laid.

Her lines to her husband, though not great poetry, are perhaps the most sincere, and are certainly the most human and touching she ever wrote; and her poem on the rearing of her eight children, while infelicitous in its barnyard metaphor, presents a happy and lovable picture. So lovely and pathetic is the figure of the woman herself, and so remarkable are her achievements in the light of her environment, that one finds it ungracious to speak harshly of her verse.

It is rather remarkable that so little purely religious verse was produced in early New England. Quarles, himself a Puritan, was prolific in hymns, divine songs, and paraphrases from the Bible. New England boasted a distinct literary class, not unfamiliar with great religious poetry; but its one biblical paraphrase and its one effort at writing religious song was *The Bay Psalm Book*. To meet the need for divine songs to sing in the churches, Richard Mather, Thomas Welde, and John Eliot supervised the preparation of a new metrical version of the Psalms. *The Bay Psalm Book*, as it came to be called, was the first book published on American soil, and passed through twenty-seven editions between 1640 and 1752, when it was superseded by John Barnard's *New Version of the Psalms of David*. It surpasses even Sternhold and Hopkins in uncouthness, and as a monument of bad taste has furnished an easy target for the ridicule of subsequent and less devout generations. It is unfair, however, to take *The Bay Psalm Book* as an index to the poetic taste of its period, or its subsequent popularity as indicating anything more than its usefulness. It was a makeshift, and they knew it was a poor one; an edition "revised and refined" by John Dunster and Richard Lyon followed in 1647. If these were "refined," then, as Timothy Dwight remarks, "a modern reader would almost instinctively ask, 'What were they before?'"

We still possess in its original crudity the "epic of New England puritanism," *The Day of Doom; or, a Poetical Description of the Great and Last Judgment*. This was the masterpiece of the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth (1631–1705), who was born in England, but emigrated to America, and graduated from Harvard at the age of twenty. He was a physician as well as a theologian and a poet, amiable and humane in character, and greatly beloved. The most widely read and perhaps the most representative poet of early New England, he was also, with the exception of Anne Bradstreet, the most prolific. In both subject-matter and style he is only too representative of his times. His *Day of Doom*, first published in 1662, versifies the scriptural passages concerning the last judgment, and adds to these a statement of the Calvinistic dogmas of eternal punishment. Its two hundred eight-line stanzas tell a story which still entertains the reader, even if it has lost its power to terrify. Relatively, no poem was ever more popular; the first edition of eighteen hundred copies was sold within a year; within the century after, ten subsequent editions were published; and its final passing was coincident only with the passing of the theology that gave it birth and rendered it tolerable. The opening stanzas of the poem show some imagination and power of description; but these are borrowed plumes; all that is good in *The Day of Doom* comes from the Bible. Wigglesworth had no real poetry in him; at no period and under no conditions would he have been a poet. His *God's Controversy with New England*, inspired by the great drought of 1662, deserves no consideration as poetry; but the poem that followed in 1669 is of greater interest. This is *Meat out of the Eater; or, Meditations concerning the Necessity, End, and Usefulness of Affliction unto God's Children*, a theological treatise in rhyme, over two thousand lines in length, in various metres and divided into many different sections. The reflections, with their references to biblical prototypes, the quaint and often fantastic style, point to Quarles's *Emblems* as their inspiration. Though even less poetic than *The Day of Doom*, the poem contains the only two good lines that Wigglesworth ever wrote:

War ends in peace, and morning light
Mounts upon Midnight's wing.

In his *Vanity of Vanities*, which was appended to the third edition of *The Day of Doom* in 1673, certain rather polished heroic quatrains suggest Davenant or Dryden as possible models. But, as Wigglesworth's library contained not one volume of English poetry, the poet must have found his model outside of his library; it is beyond belief that either he or any other New England versifier of his period could have originated or even improved any form of verse.

The years between the close of the seventeenth century and the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765 form a transition period in the development of American verse. It is interesting to note that the passing of the old century coincided almost exactly with the passing of the old models. About 1700 new literary influences came from England; the old forms of verse were discarded for others more polished; Quarles and Sylvester gave way, first to Waller, then to Pope. But the change was not one of form alone. The decline of clerical influence, the increase of security and comfort in the conditions of life, the more frequent intercourse with England—all these and other changes were reflected also in the subject-matter, the purpose, and the spirit of the new verse.

New England poets before 1700 learned nothing from the English poets of the latter half of the seventeenth century; for New England seems to have placed all the literature of the Restoration period under a rigorous embargo. There is no sufficient evidence that Dryden was known in America before 1700, in spite of some fairly regular quatrains by Michael Wigglesworth and an occasional polished couplet by Cotton Mather and Benjamin Tompson. If they knew even Milton they perhaps saw in him only the champion of divorce and of other heresies. But there are other and obvious reasons for this ignorance or neglect of Dryden and Milton. Although John Cotton had some correspondence with Quarles, there was not much literary communication of any kind between the colonies and England before the eighteenth century. New England was complete in itself.

Dr. Benjamin Colman (1673–1747), upon his return from England in 1699, brought with him both Blackmore and Waller. This decisive event in the history of American verse marked the beginning of a new era, that of the heroic couplet. But though Colman praises Waller and Blackmore and recommends both to his daughter Jane Turell, he himself, when he wrote his *Elijah's Translation* (1707) on the death of the Rev. Samuel Willard, imitated Dryden in his heroic couplets and his method of applying a Bible story as in *Absalom and Achito-*

phel. Jane Turell (1708–1735), whose literary tastes were formed by her father, admired the "Matchless Orinda," Blackmore, and Waller; but she wrote the couplet of Pope. Another and even earlier evidence of the influence of Pope is a poem by Francis Knapp, who was born in England in 1672, and at an uncertain date emigrated to America and settled as a country gentleman near Boston. In 1715 he addressed a poetical epistle to Pope beginning

> Hail! sacred bard! a muse unknown before
> Salutes thee from the bleak Atlantic shore,

which was included among the prefatory poems in a subsequent edition of Windsor Forest (first published in 1713). Thus promptly Pope crossed the Atlantic to begin his undisputed reign of almost a century. Knapp's heroic poem *Gloria Brittannorum* (1723), an obvious imitation of Addison's *Campaign*, celebrates "The most illustrious persons in camp and cabinet since the glorious revolution to the recent time," and is perhaps the earliest example of the patriotic narrative poem that was to become so common in American after the Revolution.

But a far more distinguished exponent of the style of Pope was the Rev. Mather Byles. "To let you see a little of the reputation which you bear in these unknown climates—I transmit to you the enclosed poems," Byles wrote to Pope in 1727. It was perhaps these poems that Byles published in a volume in 1736, and which were published anonymously in the somewhat celebrated volume of 1744, *Poems by Several Hands*. Mather Byles is a more eminent figure in the annals of American poetry than is at all warranted by his poems, which are few and altogether imitative. His reputation is due in part to the general poverty of the transition period—the barest era in our verse—and in part to his fame as a preacher and a wit. He was born in 1707, was educated at Harvard, and served as pastor of the Hollis Street church in Boston through the greater part of his ministerial life. After the Declaration, he became a staunch and vehement Tory, lost his former popularity, and died embittered and broken in 1788. He corresponded with Lansdowne, Pope, and Watts, took himself seriously as a poet, at least in his younger days; and in his attention to contemporary English literature and his setting up of something approaching an æsthetic standard in verse, represents a definite change from the point of view of the generation before him. But the Puritan is still at work in him, however modern may be his style. His most ambitious poem, *The Conflagration*, a description of the physical phenomena of the last day, and a shorter poem, *The Comet*, are both in the spirit of Wigglesworth, for all their heroic couplets and artificial diction. His elegies are unadulterated Pope; and his hymns are in imitation of Watts.

One of the first volumes of miscellaneous verse published in America was the *Poems by Several Hands* (Boston, 1744). All the poems are anonymous; and aside from humorous ballads probably by Joseph Green, they merely echo Pope, with a plethora of "amorous swains" and "blushing charms." Some were certainly written by Byles, and others are tributes to his genius. Indeed, the purpose of the volume was to extol Byles as a poet worthy to be mentioned with Homer and with his only modern rival, Pope. Already America was looking for its Homer, a search that was to continue with increasing assiduity throughout the century—and Boston found him in Byles.

More original and interesting than the poems of Byles are the humorous verses of his friend Joseph Green (1706–1780), a Boston distiller possessed of literary tastes, who ranked with Byles as a wit and social favourite. After the outbreak of the Revolution he too became a Tory, and finally found refuge in London, where he died. Though his poems seem to have been written for his own amusement and that of his friends, they are important as the first attempt to lighten the heavy Puritanism of early New England with some leaven of humour and wit. *An Entertainment for a Winter's Evening* is perhaps the earliest piece of Hudibrastic verse written in America. We have travelled far from Puritan New England when a Bostonian can find amusement in the godless spectacle of a drunken parson and his tipsy companions, and can edify his fellow townsmen with a burlesque account of their nocturnal adventures.

Associated with Byles and Green in *Poems by Several Hands* was the Rev. John Adams, a young clergyman of Boston who died in 1740 at the age of thirty-five. Five years after his death his friends published his *Poems on Several Occasions;*

Original and Translated, which contains among other pieces paraphrases from the Bible, translations from Horace, and half a dozen elegies, including one on Cotton Mather and one on Jane Turell. All these are written in the heroic couplet but in a diction more natural than Pope's. That Adams knew Milton's poems is apparent in his *Address to the Supreme Being*. Indeed these poems, though pervaded by the Puritan spirit, yet reveal a more purely æsthetic purpose and a more careful style than can generally be found before the later years of the century.

The almanacs of Nathaniel Ames, father and son, of Dedham, Massachusetts, had their part in disseminating throughout New England a knowledge of the English poets and perhaps also in fostering a taste for humorous poetry. The brief passages from Dryden, Pope, and James Thomson (yes, and Blackmore!), prefixed to the astronomical data, and the unpretentious humorous verses scattered through the other matter, were far more widely read than the laboured and ambitious poems of the literary group in Boston. An *Essay upon the Microscope* is an elaborate poem, by the elder Ames, which, if not poetic, is interesting as perhaps our first ode in irregular verse.

Boston was not the only literary centre of this transition period. Franklin tells us in his *Autobiography* that when he first entered the printing office of Samuel Keimer in Philadelphia in 1723, he found the printer laboriously composing in type an elegy on Aquila Rose, a young poet who had just died in that city—perhaps the worst elegy ever written. The poet elegized died in 1723 at the age of twenty-eight. Within the few years preceding his death he wrote the slight occasional poems in heroic couplets that were in 1740 published in a volume by his son. Probably at no time would Aquila Rose have been a poet, but his verses were quite the best that Philadelphia had yet produced, and were to remain so until Thomas Godfrey surpassed them a generation later. Furthermore, they show that the new influences from England had reached Philadelphia as well as Boston. George Webb, a member of Franklin's "Junto," wrote *Batchelors' Hall* in defence of the life led by himself and other young bachelors at their club near the city. Unconventional as that life may have been, Webb's heroic couplets are as conventional as could be desired, and, together with the verses written by other members of his circle, they recall the dominant hand of Pope. Intrinsically unimportant as was all the verse written in Philadelphia in this early period, it must have done its work in creating a literary atmosphere and in establishing traditions; for this city remained throughout the entire century the centre both for the writing and the publishing of American poetry.

During the whole of the eighteenth century the long poem, didactic, descriptive, and philosophic, flourished in England, and during the latter half of the same century its imitative progeny flourished in America. There could be no justification for cataloguing these imitative efforts, since not one of them still lives in our literature, and very few of them show any distinctive American traits. In the main, their method, their ideas, their imagery are as English as those of their prototypes; their heroic couplet is that of Pope or Goldsmith; their blank verse is that of Thomson or Young.

The tide set in with imitations of Pomfret, whose *Choice* (1700) appeared in at least four editions in America between 1751 and 1792. In 1747 William Livingston, who was to become the famous governor of New Jersey, expressed his ideal of existence in a direct imitation of Pomfret which he called *Philosophic Solitude, or the Choice of a Rural Life.* Ten years later a second imitation of Pomfret followed in *The Choice* by Dr. Benjamin Church of Boston, who longs for a home in the country, the right kind of wife, congenial friends, and leisure to read his favourite poets—Milton, Dryden, Gay, "awful Pope, unequalled bard," and "nature-limning Thomson." Though dwelling in a small American town, he sighs for solitude as longingly as he might have done in the midst of a world capital. Livingston and Church are half a century late in their sporadic imitations; and for a while Americans were simply catching up with almost a hundred years of English didactic poetry; but after the tide once turned, about the middle of the century, imitation was much more prompt and general and, after the Revolution, immediate and universal.

Goldsmith reached Americans almost at once, and appeared in nine editions between 1768 and 1791. His numerous imitators are all alike in using his method, his style, and even his very subject-matter. Among imitations of *The Deserted Village* may be mentioned Thomas Coombe's *Peasant of Auburn* (1775), which contains lines fine enough to save it from oblivion. Imitations of Thomson's *Seasons* began to appear soon after the first American edition was published in 1777, increased in number with the five successive editions up to 1792, and continued through at least the first decade of the nineteenth century. To read one of these is to know all, with their very fair verse, and their conventional and generalized descriptions of scenery that might as well be English as American. It is interesting to note, however, that the native element in our descriptive verse grows more pronounced in the decade preceding the first work of Bryant. The form is still that of Thomson, but the poet has at last opened his eyes to the distinctive beauty of American nature. In his *Descriptive Poems* (1802) John D. McKinnon wrote of the Hudson and the Mohawk Rivers and our own October landscape, as well as of

> th' illimitable plain
> Depastured by erratic buffaloes;

and some "Untaught Bard," writing under the influence of both Thomson and Young, in his *Spring* clearly foretells the coming of *Thanatopsis*. John Hayes, professor at Dickinson College, in the 2500 lines of blank verse of his *Rural Poems* (1807) celebrates American birds and flowers in spite of his imitation of Milton and Thomson. Still more interesting in this respect is *The Foresters* (1804) of the ornithologist Alexander Wilson, a poem in 2200 lines of heroic couplets which tell the story of a journey through New York and Pennsylvania to Niagara Falls. Wilson is a scientist rather than a poet, but he sees nature sympathetically and gives what he sees in a simple and direct style. At last the poet writes with his eye on American nature and not on conventional descriptions by English poets.

The one poem that sums up all the direct imitations of Goldsmith, and Thomson, and of Denham, Milton, Pope, and Beattie as well, is *Greenfield Hill*. Timothy Dwight (1752–1817), a grandson of Jonathan Edwards, at the age of nineteen graduated from Yale, where he then became a tutor. In 1777–1778 he served as chaplain in the army, and varied his duties by writing patriotic songs for the soldiers. In 1783 he became pastor of the church at Greenfield, Connecticut, and in 1795 was made president of Yale. He was the first of our great college presidents, and as theologian, scholar, patriot, and writer was one of the eminent personalities of his time. As a poet he belongs to a group of writers who during the last two decades of the eighteenth century formed a literary centre at New Haven and Hartford. The chief "Hartford Wits" were Timothy Dwight, John Trumbull, Joel Barlow, David Humphreys, Richard Alsop, Lemuel Hopkins, and Theodore Dwight, a brother of Timothy, all either graduates of Yale or associated with that college. Their contemporary reputation was immense. Dwight, Barlow, and Humphreys, indeed, were practical men of affairs, and all were more or less versatile. But the reading public looked upon them as geniuses; and Freneau was the only poet aside from the Hartford group who was ever mentioned in connection with them. Yet even as they were issuing their declaration of literary independence, they were in every line betraying their dependence upon English poetic style, ideas, and imagery. Their more ambitious and laboured poems, including almost all those by Dwight, Barlow, and Humphreys, are to the modern reader the least successful. Their best work, which they themselves and the public took less seriously, is in the form of satire, and was mainly written, singly or in collaboration, by Trumbull, Theodore Dwight, Alsop, and Hopkins. Yet the work of the "Hartford Wits" in fostering poetry in a period of political and social struggle and change deserves grateful recognition from the student of American literature.

Timothy Dwight's *Greenfield Hill* is a medley of echoes. The poet stands upon a hill in his Connecticut parish, and, like his English predecessors, describes the view, paints the social conditions of the country, recounts its history, and prophesies its future. The 4300 lines of the poem are divided into seven parts, written variously in heroic couplet, Spenserian stanza, blank verse, and octosyllabics. The poet's desire "to contribute to the innocent amusement of his countrymen and to their improvement in manners and in economic, political, and moral sentiments" results in a history, guide-book, and treatise on manners, morals, and government, but not in a poem. To say that *Greenfield Hill* is made to order and is inspired by morality and patriotism, is to state the genesis of all the serious work of the Hartford group.

Outrageously long poems on æsthetic subjects were rife in America toward the close of the century. At a time when society and politics were in a state of upheaval, when neither the domestic nor the foreign policy of the country had been settled, and when consequently there was so much of native interest to write about, it is incongruous to find so many poems suggested by Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination* and Brooke's *Universal Beauty*. Richard Alsop's *Charms of Fancy* in all its 2300 lines of heroic couplets contains not a fresh image or an original idea; but *The Powers of Genius* by John Blair Linn is at least the work of a man of taste and scholarship and compares favourably with all but the very best of its British counterparts. The extreme of dulness and futility is reached in the many poems on philosophy and religion for which Pope and Young were largely responsible. Somewhat stronger and more interesting than most of these is Timothy Dwight's *Triumph of Infidelity*, which purports to be a satire, and which with irony and abuse rather than logic attempts to refute the arguments of the eighteenth century "infidels," Voltaire included. Biblical paraphrases, too, multiplied after the Revolution, and appeared in large numbers between 1780 and 1810. These are supplemented by epics on biblical themes, the most celebrated of which is again the work of the indefatigable Timothy Dwight, written by the time he was twenty-two, but published when he was thirty-three and should have known better. *The Conquest of Canaan* (1785), in ten thousand lines of heroic couplets, owes its style to Pope's Homer and much of its method and imagery to Virgil and Milton. The epic as a whole is what might be expected when the poet's purpose is "to represent such manners as are removed from the peculiarities of any age or country, and might belong to the amiable and virtuous of any period, elevated without design, refined without ceremony, elegant without fashion, and agreeable because they are ornamented with sincerity, dignity, and religion." Into the heroic biblical narrative are woven the loves of Irad and Selima and of Iram and Mira, who take their evening strolls through the lanes and meadows of Connecticut. Though intolerably verbose, the poem contains purple passages which lift it to the level of the average eighteenth-century epic and which perhaps led Cowper to review it favourably. With a noble disregard of congruity, *The Conquest of Canaan* is, withal, distinctly patriotic, with its union of "Canaan and Connecticut" and its allusions to contemporary persons and events.

The third period of early American verse, which begins with 1765 and ends with 1808, is characterized by two remarkably coincident phenomena, one political, the other æsthetic. One of these is the beginning of the nationalism that produced our early patriotic poems and satires, and is marked by the passage of the Stamp Act. The other, also beginning about 1765, is the wholesale importation and reprinting of English poetry which worked with the growth of native culture to produce a great quantity of verse all more or less imitative of English models and largely independent of political conditions. All the poems of this period, whether springing from political or from purely æsthetic influences, are most conveniently treated under their various genres without regard to individual writers, though one poet, Philip Freneau, demands separate consideration.

The first ballad springing from American soil recounts a battle fought in 1725 between whites and Indians near Lovewell's Pond in Maine. Composed at the time of the event, it was for generations preserved only by word of mouth, and was not published for almost a century. Though unliterary, it tells its story with vigour and directness, and is of additional interest in that Longfellow in 1820 chose the same fight as the subject of his first poem, *The Battle of Lovell's Pond.*

Many fugitive verses on the French and Indian War[1] were published anonymously in the newspapers, the best of which are perhaps *The Song of Braddock's Men*, and the lines on Wolfe—

> Thy merits, Wolfe, transcend all human praise.

Anti-British ballads began to appear immediately upon the passage of the Stamp Act, to continue until the close of the Revolution. These spring from the heat of the conflict, and are as replete with patriotism as they are deficient in literary merit. Yet they admirably fulfilled their purpose of arousing public spirit, and many of them were known and sung everywhere. John Dickinson's *Patriot's Appeal*, which begins

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[1] The French and Indian War gave birth to a curious volume of *Miscellaneous Poems on Divers Occasions, Chiefly to Animate and Rouse the Soldiers* (1756), by Stephen Tilden, which, in spite of its wretched verse, is of some interest as the first of its kind in America.

> Then join hand in hand, brave Americans all,
> By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall,

gave rise to a parody which was in turn parodied in the famous *Massachusetts Liberty Song*. Almost equally popular were John Mason's *Liberty's Call*, Thomas Paine's *Liberty Tree*, and Timothy Dwight's *Columbia*, with its refrain

> Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise,
> The queen of the world and the child of the skies.

But the one ballad that shows a spark of poetry is *Nathan Hale*, which commemorates the capture and death of the young American spy. It opens with a promise that is scarcely sustained throughout the poem:

> The breezes went steadily thro the tall pines,
>   A saying "Oh! hu-sh," a saying "Oh! hu-sh,"
> As stilly stole by a bold legion of horse,
>   For Hale in the bush, for Hale in the bush.

Best known of the purely humorous ballads is Francis Hopkinson's *Battle of the Kegs* (1778), which tells of the alarm felt by the British over some kegs that the Americans had charged with powder and had set floating in the Delaware River.

The hundreds of patriotic ballads, songs, and odes that appeared after the Revolution, though more ambitious and "literary," seem less spontaneous and sincere than the earlier verse, which called a nation to arms; and for all their flaunting of the stars and stripes, they leave the reader cold. Scarcely a poet who wrote between 1780 and 1807 failed to compose at least one such poem; but, it is safe to say, the only patriotic ballads of permanent merit written between 1725 and 1807 are the sea poems of Freneau.

The longer American patriotic poems of the later eighteenth century may take the form of narratives of battle, of personal eulogies, or, perhaps most characteristically, of philosophic statements of what today is called "Americanism." They increase in number toward the close of the century, when the air was full of American principles and ideals, and finally, in spite of their imitative style, they become in spirit at least a distinctive product without exact parallel in England. The best of them express a national aspiration that can still appeal to the patriotic reader. There is little of all this, however, in the early outbursts evoked by the French and Indian War, when the poets were generally loyal to Great Britain. On the accession of George the Third in 1761 the faculty and graduates of Harvard published a curious volume of congratulatory poems entitled *Pietas et Gratulatio Collegii Cantabrigiensis Apud Nov-Anglos.* The volume of one hundred and six pages includes thirty-one poems, three of which are in Greek, sixteen in Latin, and twelve in English. The poems in English are in the form of irregular odes or heroic couplets stilted and commonplace in subject and style. The modern reader may find amusement in such loyal lines as

> Bourbons to humble, Brunswicks were ordained:
> Those mankind's rights destroyed, but these regained.

But the patriotic poem was soon to transfer its allegiance. A truly remarkable quantity of narrative verse tells the story of the Revolution and celebrates its civil and military leaders. Almost everyone who wrote verse in America after the Revolution produced an ode or an epic to vindicate his patriotism. Literature was now democratic; nothing was needed but inspiration, and the air was full of that. Far above the average is the rather fine *Eulogium on Major-General Joseph Warren*, written by "A Columbian"; but the vast majority of these historic and eulogistic narratives serve but to exemplify the heights of patriotism and the depths of bathos. The elaborate and laboured elegies on Washington are as numerous and as futile as might be expected. The finest eulogy on Washington was written prior to his death by Dr. Benjamin Young Prime in a pindaric ode of 1400 lines entitled *Columbia's Glory, or*

British Pride Humbled, which, in spite of its conventional form and style and lack of imagination, contains passages of admirable rhetoric.

Closely related to the narratives and eulogies are the many and lengthy poems belonging to the philosophic and didactic "glory of America" type, of which Freneau seems to have been the originator. The most prolific poet of this school was Colonel David Humphreys (1753–1818), who graduated from Yale in 1771, served as aide-de-camp to Washington, and became a frequent guest at Mount Vernon. He was associated with the Hartford Wits after 1786; served as minister to Portugal in 1791, and as minister to Spain from 1797 to 1802. A versatile man like others of the Hartford group, he was not only soldier, diplomat, and poet, but also an experimenter in sheep-raising and wool-manufacture. His six patriotic poems vary in length from four hundred to one thousand lines of heroic couplets. "Every poet who aspires to celebrity strives to approach the perfection of Pope and the sweetness of his versification," says Humphreys. All his patriotic poems are the work of an experienced versifier with full command of his subject and with little poetic inspiration. The *Poem on the Happiness of America* celebrates liberty and democracy, American scenery, resources, achievements, and prospects, with a boundless belief in the possibilities of America and her divine mission.

No other member of the Hartford group, indeed no other man of letters of his time, lived a life so active and varied as Joel Barlow (1754–1812). After his graduation from Yale, he served as chaplain in the army, and in 1781 married and settled in Hartford as lawyer and editor. His philosophic poem *The Vision of Columbus*, published in 1787, was read and admired in France and England. Barlow later went to France as agent of the notorious Scioto Land Company, apparently in ignorance of its fraudulent character. In Paris he became a strong partisan of democracy, and for several years divided his time between France and England, writing political pamphlets and books, and making a fortune through commerce and speculation. While resident in Savoy in 1792, he wrote what is certainly his most original and enduring poem and also one of the best pieces of humorous verse in our early literature.

Hasty Pudding is a mock-heroic of the conventional eighteenth-century type, in four hundred lines of heroic couplets. Its three cantos describe the making of the famous New England dish, the eating of it, and the traits that render it delectable and worthy of eulogy. The pastoral scenes are native, not imitated, the diction is simple and natural, and the humour, though rather thin, is sufficiently amusing. Barlow rendered valuable service to his native land in 1795, when he went to Algiers and secured the release of American prisoners; and again in 1798 when he helped to avert war between France and America. He returned home in 1805, and two years later published his *Columbiad.* He again served his country well in 1811, when he was sent by President Madison as an envoy to Europe; but in journeying to meet Napoleon he was caught in the retreat from Moscow, and died and was buried in Poland. Though democrats in America celebrated his memory, he perhaps has never had justice done him as a patriot and typical American.

When *The Vision of Columbus* was published in 1787 it suited the taste of the time, and its author was hailed as a genius, not only by his fellow Hartford Wits but also by the public at large. Its subject and style gave it a reputation that it could not have attained even a decade later. Barlow was misled by his temporary success into the fatal error of expanding the 4700 lines into the 8350 lines of *The Columbiad.* But when the latter appeared in 1807, it failed to please the very public that had welcomed its predecessor. Its failure was due less to the changes in the poem than to the development of public taste during the poet's absence in Europe. Pope's dominance had been successfully contested, and the long philosophic poem itself was in its decline. Barlow's failure was all the more striking on account of his very audacity. His *Vision of Columbus* was simply a philosophic poem; his *Columbiad* was avowedly an epic, meant to have a vaster theme, a more refined style, and a higher moral purpose than Homer's. *The Columbiad*, however, remains merely a "geographical, historical, political, and philosophical disquisition." To Columbus, as he lies sick and in prison, there appears Hesper, the genius of the western world, and, with the purpose of setting forth all that Columbus and America have contributed to the welfare of the world, reviews the state of Europe in the middle ages, the voyages of discovery, conquests, and colonisation, and the war of the Revolution, with references to contemporary persons and events. He concludes with a prophecy of the future glories of America. This literary dragnet has drawn into itself nothing delicate or tender and little that is truly human, for such qualities are not compatible with its forced sublimity and its declamatory and gaudy rhetoric. To the worst vices of the conventional poetic diction, Barlow in a painful effort to achieve the grandiose, has added vile phrases of his own peculiar coinage. And yet, hidden away among these thousands of lines of laboured rhetoric, are passages really fine and free in both conception and execution. Atlas, genius of Africa, prophesies to Hesper the ruin that must follow American slavery. In the chaos

> His own bald eagle skims alone the sky,
> Darts from all points of heaven her searching eye,
> Kens thro the gloom her ancient rock of rest,
> And finds her cavern'd crag, her solitary nest.

The most vigorous poems produced in America between 1765 and 1807 were the numberless satires that marked every stage of the fight with England and of the internal strife between Whigs and Tories and, later, between Republicans and Federalists. *Hudibras*, *The Dunciad*, *The Rolliad*, *The Anti-Jacobin*, and the satires of Churchill, of Gifford, and of "Peter Pindar" bred in America songs, mock-heroics, burlesques, and satires of direct attack, in lyric measures, heroic couplets, and octosyllabics.

American political satire began with the Stamp Act. *The Times* (1765) by the Rev. Benjamin Church of Boston, which vigorously defends the colonists, imitates Churchill, who for four years had been famous in England as the most relentless satirist of the day, and is doubly interesting in that its author later changed his attitude and was expelled from Boston as a traitor. The Boston Port Bill evoked from John Trumbull an *Elegy on the Times* (1775), which uses the elegiac quartrains of Gray for satiric invective; but far more important is the same author's *McFingal*, the most effective satire of its time. Trumbull was born in what is now Watertown, Connecticut, in 1750, and graduated from Yale in 1767 in the same class with Timothy Dwight. In 1772 he published his *Progress of Dullness*, a satire in Hudibrastic verse on the current educational system and the ignorance of the clergy which is still interesting. After studying law in the office of John Adams in Boston, he returned to New Haven to practise, and in 1776 published the first two cantos of *McFingal.*[1] In 1781 he published the third and fourth cantos, and in the same year removed to Hartford, where he became associated with the Hartford Wits and joined in writing *The Anarchiad.* After serving as State's attorney, he became a judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut, and finally judge of the Supreme Court of Errors, a position which he held until 1819. For some years he was the treasurer of Yale, from which he received the degree of LL.D. in 1818. He removed to Detroit in 1825, and died there in 1831.

McFingal, Trumbull's chief work, is a political satire in favour of the whigs. As much the guide as the child of public sentiment, the piece had thirty editions. It is a burlesque epic in 3800 lines of Hudibrastic verse in four cantos, which parodies epic speeches in council, heroic encounters, and prophecy. At a town meeting held in a New England village to discuss the question of rebellion against the mother country, the whigs, led by the impassioned Honorius, and the tories, headed by Squire McFingal, an officeholder under the Crown, engage in furious argument. The whigs are finally victorious in speech and also in the battle which terminates the discussion. Under threats, McFingal's tory constable recants, but the obdurate Squire is tarred and feathered and glued to the liberty pole, where he is left to meditate his misdeeds. Escaping in the night, he convenes a meeting of fellow tories in the cellar, and relates to them the vision which he has gained through his gift of second sight, and which prophesies final victory for the whigs. The meeting breaks up at the approach of the whigs and McFingal deserts his followers and escapes to the British. The verse runs swiftly, with considerable comic force, and contains epigrammatic couplets that might have come from *Hudibras*:

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[1] Published as Canto I, but since divided into two cantos.

No man e'er felt the halter draw,
With good opinion of the law,

and

But optics sharp it needs, I ween,
To see what is not to be seen.

The burlesque contrasts, the absurd figures of speech, the far-fetched allusions, are learned from Butler; and the verse, with its frequent elisions, its feminine rhymes, and its homely diction, is more nearly that of *Hudibras* than of any other satire. Churchill is responsible for such serious passages in the speeches as

For ages blest thus Britain rose
The terror of encircling foes;
Her heroes ruled the bloody plain;
Her conq'ring standard aw'd the main,

as also for the use of personifications and of the terrible:

Around all stained with rebel blood,
Like Milton's lazàr house it stood,
Where grim Despair attended nurse,
And Death was gov'rnor of the house.

For all its indebtednesses *McFingal* remains the most entertaining satire in our early literature, and the only surviving poem by any member of the Hartford group.

The two most vigorous and prolific tory satirists were Joseph Stansbury (1750–1809), a merchant of Philadelphia, and the Rev. Jonathan Odell (1737–1818), of New Jersey. Their satires and satirical songs, odes, and ballads are generally alike both in matter and style, but Stansbury is the better poet, and has to his credit several satirical lyrics, quite as good as any of their time on either side of the water. He turns off an ode to the king, a comic ballad recounting an American reverse, or a loyal song, all with equal facility and with little of the invective characteristic of Odell. His *Town Meeting*, a satirical ballad of over one hundred and fifty lines, is typical, but his lyric, *To Cordelia*, addressed to his wife from Nova Scotia at the close of the Revolution, shows that he could also write a true poem. Odell, whose satires were not only in the main longer and less original, but also more virulent, was the Freneau of the tory side. Though possessed of little humour and less wit, he is at least vigorous and incisive and can give Freneau as good as he sends:

> Back to his mountains Washington may trot.
> He take this city? Yes—when ice is hot.

That Churchill was his model appears in his *Feu de Joie;* his *Word of Congress* (1779), four hundred lines of politico-personal invective against the Continental Congress; and in the still longer *American Times* (1780), which attacked the leaders of the American cause with extreme bitterness and scurrility.

After the Revolution and before the adoption of the Constitution, social and political unrest produced *The Anarchiad, a Poem on the Restoration of Chaos and Substantial Night* (1786–1787), in which four of the Hartford group, Joel Barlow, John Trumbull, David Humphreys, and Lemuel Hopkins cleverly adapted their English original *The Rolliad* to the conditions that gave rise to Shays's Rebellion, paper money, demagogy, and other evils of the time. *The Anarchiad* is in 1200 lines of heroic couplets, and is divided into fourteen parts that purport to be extracts from an ancient epic, lately discovered, which foretell conditions in the decade following the Revolution. The verse is that of Pope and Goldsmith, from whom many passages are paraphrased; the style is a parody of Homer, Dante, Milton, and Pope; and the mock-heroic method is conventional; yet the satire through its wit and good sense deserved its immense popularity. The speech of Hesper in favour of a firm union of the states is fine and eloquent; and the brilliant satirical picture of the Land of Annihilation, though obviously suggested by *The Dunciad*, is not unworthy of its original.

The entire story of the strife between federalist and republican, Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian, can be read in the verse satire of the time. No American shows this bitter partisanship more than Thomas Green Fessenden (1771–1837). His *Terrible Tractoration*, written in England about English conditions, is not political but is chiefly aimed at the critics of

Perkins's "metallic tractors," an invention of which Fessenden was the agent. Its 1800 lines of Hudibrastic verse, full of references to contemporary persons and scientific matters, form a fair example of a not very admirable type of satire. Fessenden again displays his mental alertness and his indebtedness to "Peter Pindar" in *Democracy Unveiled, or Tyranny Stripped of the Garb of Patriotism.* This surprising production, in which he reaches the nadir of indecent personalities, attacks Jacobinism, democracy, and Jefferson in particular, with a virulence that disregards both good sense and good taste.

The political mock-epic appears in the anonymous *Aristocracy* (1795), which ridicules the alleged aristocratic notions of the federalists. Also political in a sense is *The Group* (1795), by William Cliffton, a satire on the men who hid from danger during the Revolution but who now claim the reward of patriots. Though its series of portraits in the mock-heroic style of Pope is not without vigour, it is less original and amusing than Cliffton's *Rhapsody on the Times*, several hundred lines of octosyllabics in the style of Prior, which contains narrative and descriptive satire against unrestricted immigration.

Before the nineteenth century our social and literary satires are amusing only as futile attempts to make something out of nothing. The society and literary productions of Philadelphia are satirized in a series of poems beginning in 1762 and extending on into the next century; such as *The Manners of the Times* (1762) by "Philadelphiensis"; the anonymous *Philadelphiad;* and the more vigorous but still conventional *Times* (1788) by Peter Markoe. Other Philadelphia satires of this type might be named without raising the average of merit. Fortunately, New York and Boston seem to have been somewhat less analytic in their attitude; though both cities were guilty of such conventional social and literary satires as Winthrop Sargent's *Boston* (1803). The inflated journalistic style of the last decade of the century suggested the one really clever and original literary satire of its time in America. *The Echo* was begun in 1791, was published serially, and appeared complete as a volume of three hundred pages in 1807. Its authors, who seem to have been Richard Alsop and Timothy Dwight, select some particularly bombastic passage from a current newspaper and travesty its style in heroic couplets, with a result that has not yet quite lost its flavour. The satire probably owed something to the parodies of *The Anti-Jacobin*, though in this case the matter and not the form is burlesqued.

At the close of the century the long satiric poem in Hudibrastic verse or heroic couplet was already passing away in England, though American versifiers continued to imitate the outworn models. In the light of *The Biglow Papers* all these early beginnings seem faint and pale; but they are still significant as indications of the growth of national consciousness. It should also be noted that in average merit our early verse satire is probably not inferior to its counterpart in England. There is little to be said for the genre on either side of the water.

Volumes of miscellaneous short poems began to appear in 1765, but, owing to the Revolution and its attendant changes, ceased almost entirely between 1770 and 1790, and revived only during the last decade of the century. Though intrinsically of little merit, they show in the main that Pope and the long poem were not absolutely dominant and that Americans were reading English lyrical poetry and were learning to write graceful verse which certain of the public were ready to read. This public was small enough, however, for most of the volumes were published by subscription; and a remarkable number were issued by pious friends as memorials to young poets, and hence show little except that friendship may make unreasonable demands.

The poems of Thomas Godfrey (1736–1763) of Philadelphia were published two years after his death by his friend and fellow poet Nathaniel Evans. His work is highly imitative; pastorals in heroic couplet, after Pope; an *Ode to Friendship* and a *Dithyrambic on Wine* in the manner of Dryden's occasional odes; a *Night Piece* in elegiac quatrains, which shows the influence of Gray and Young; songs in the manner of Shenstone and Prior; and here and there a touch of Collins. His best as well as his most ambitious poem is *The Court of Fancy*, an allegory in heroic couplets, suggested by Chaucer's *House of Fame*. Though conventional in style, it is not without originality, and as the first truly imaginative poem written in America is of more than passing interest. Godfrey's imitative habit could not quite cloak his spontaneity, and had he come only a generation later he might have contributed more permanently to our poetry.

The poems of his friend and editor the Rev. Nathaniel Evans (1742–1767), also of Philadelphia, were issued five years after his death in a volume entitled *Poems on Several Occasions* which contains a number of unimportant occasional poems, and others imitative of Milton, Cowley, Prior, Gray, and Collins. Evans's most ambitious effort is his *Ode on the Prospect of Peace;* but more interesting is his tribute to Benjamin Franklin in praise of physical science. On the whole his poems show less native ability than Godfrey's and are equally imitative; but the work of both is significant as the beginning of our more purely lyrical verse.

Had not the Revolution interfered,[1] the publication of volumes of miscellaneous poems would probably have continued unbroken. When about 1790 it began again, to continue indefinitely, the awakening of national consciousness had produced no change in the matter and style of the short poem; it was still an echo. And Philadephia was still the centre for writing and publication. But new influences—such as Mrs. Radcliffe, Ossian, and the contemporary romantic ballads—are often apparent in the last decade of the century. The sentimental, the mysterious, the horrible, environed with appropriate scenery, appear here and there in the work of such poets as William Moore Smith (1759–1821), of Philadelphia, who gives evidence of this imported "romanticism" in *The Wizard of the Rock*, a blend of Parnell, Percy, and Goldsmith; and *Maria's Grave*, which is placed amid the romantic scenery pictured by the poet's originals across the Atlantic. Most distinguished personally of the Philadelphia poets was Judge Francis Hopkinson (1737–1791),[2] signer of the Declaration of Independence, whose many occasional poems are merely as good as the average of their kind, but whose songs, some of which are suggestive of Gay and Prior, are distinctly musical and pleasing. The Rev. John Blair Linn (1777–1804), who, like Godfrey and Evans, died young and left his work unfinished, wrote odes to solitude and melancholy, pastorals and elegies, and other echoes of Shenstone, Gray, and even Mason. It is noticeable that the songs and light social lyrics of the close of the century come from Philadelphia, the social capital. The gifted and original William Cliffton (1772–1799) was both a satirist and a lyrist. His half-dozen lyrics, quite the two best of which are *To Fancy* and *To a Robin*,[1] are not without grace and delicacy, which he owes largely to his models, Gay, Prior, and Collins. Like Freneau and other poets of the time, Cliffton found his surroundings unsympathetic:

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[1] Aside from patriotic songs and ballads, not much lyrical verse was published between 1770 and 1786, and that little appeared in newspapers and magazines.

[2] See also Book II., Chap. II.

> In these cold shades, beneath these shifting skies,
> Where Fancy sickens, and where Genius dies;
> Where few and feeble are the Muse's strains,
> And no fine frenzy riots in the veins.

So he characterizes his environment in his epistle to William Gifford, which was prefixed to the American edition of the *Baviad* and *Maeviad* in 1799. Gifford's stinging satire on the "Della Cruscan" school of poetry was welcomed in America by Cliffton, whose verse was at least manly and sincere.

It is not certain that Joseph Brown Ladd (1764–1786) wrote his *Poems of Arouet* under Della Cruscan influence, for they were published in the year in which the school took its rise in Florence; they are at least an anticipation of its more languishing side. But whether or not the Della Cruscan mania had reached Charleston, where Ladd was killed in a duel, in 1786, it was certainly widespread in Boston less than a decade later. Mrs. Sarah Wentworth Morton (1759–1846),[2] termed by her admirers "The American Sappho," praises Della Crusca in a fervid address prefixed to her narrative poem *Ouabi, or the Virtues of Nature* (1790), and as "Philenia" exchanged poetical tributes with her "Menander," no less a celebrity than Robert Treat Paine, Jr. (1773–1811).

Boston's craving for a native poet, the bad taste of the time, and the poet's own wayward life combined to give Paine a reputation surpassing that of any of his contemporaries. At Harvard he was known by his occasional poems, and his patriotic song *Adams and Liberty* made him a celebrity. Though he practised law, he gave most of his time to the theatre and to poetry. Soon his reputation was such that he could command five dollars a line for his verse, a price never before approached in America and perhaps never since equalled. His marriage with an actress estranged him from his family, and after this event his life was that of a wastrel. His services, however, were in request upon all public occasions, from the opening of theatres to meetings of the Phi Beta Kappa. For such occasions he wrote the didactic poems, prologues, and odes in conventional but vigorous heroic couplets that form the greater part of his work. *The Ruling Passion*, for Phi Beta Kappa, and *The Invention of Letters*, for a Harvard commencement, were hailed as the spontaneous and original outbursts of genius, though both are merely laboured and conventional didactic poems of a type that was even then in its decline. In these and a few other of Paine's poems one finds rhetorical passages of some merit amid a waste of bombast and affectation but looks in vain for any imagination or real feeling. The diction embodies all the vices against which the new poetry rebelled. Della Crusca plus Pope would have crushed a more genuine talent than Paine's. His reputation is a curious evidence of the pathetic craving for a national poet and of the determination to force the birth of a genius. His *Works in Prose and Verse*, an octavo volume of over five hundred pages, was published one year after his death, with all the reverence due to a classic.

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[1] The latter is written in the eight-line anapestic stanza greatly favoured by Shenstone and later used by Cowper in his *Alexander Selkirk*, which occurs with notable frequency in the lyrics of this period.

[2] See also Book II, Chap. VI.

"The American Sappho" was not the only woman singer of Boston. Mrs. Susanna Rowson,[1] besides her plays and novels, wrote poems which unite "sensibility" and didacticism. Her odes, hymns, elegies, nature lyrics, and songs show little observation of life or nature, and scarcely any distinctive American quality. Of all these, the patriotic lyric *America, Commerce, and Freedom*, which is commonplace but not without spirit, alone has survived. The *Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous*, of Mrs. Mercy Warren (1728-1814)[2] include ponderous and solemn epistles and elegies that are merely belated echoes of Pope. New York also had its woman poet in Mrs. Ann Eliza Bleecker (1752–1783), whose melancholy life is reflected in the tone of her sentimental elegies, epistles, descriptive poems, and religious lyrics, in the style of the English poets of the first half of the century. Her daughter, Mrs. Margaretta Faugeres, who published her own poems with those of her mother in 1793, shows in her poem on the Hudson the growing attention to native scenery. The inquiring reader may find all the imitative qualities of our early lyric poets if he will consult the very inclusive *Original Poems, Serious and Entertaining*, of Paul Allen (1775–1826), whose facile and graceful verse is indicative of English influences all the way from Prior to Cowper.

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[1] See also Book II, Chaps. II and VI.

[2] See also Book II, Chap. II.

Aside from the lyrics of Freneau, the two original strains in our early lighter verse are the humorous poems of Thomas Green Fessenden and of Royall Tyler,[1] and the nature lyrics of Alexander Wilson. Fessenden contributed humorous poems of New England country life to Dennie's *Farmer's Weekly Museum*, and these were afterwards published in his *Original Poems*. To this same magazine and also to Dennie's *Port Folio*, Royall Tyler contributed pictures and studies in verse of American environment and character which are worth all the pretentious imitations of his contemporaries. The lyrics scattered throughout the pages of Alexander Wilson's *Ornithology* and afterwards printed in his collected poems merit more attention than they have heretofore received. Wilson was scientist and poet enough to celebrate the osprey, the Baltimore bird, the hummingbird, and the bluebird in true nature lyrics which, together with those of Freneau, are not unworthy forerunners of Bryant's.

Philip Freneau was born in New York of Huguenot ancestry in 1752, and died near Freehold, New Jersey, in 1832. His long and eventful life was spent in a variety of pursuits. After he graduated from Princeton in 1771, he was author, editor, government official, trader, and farmer. As regards the genesis of his poems, two facts in his life are especially important. His newspaper work encouraged a fatal production of the satirical and humorous verse that gave him reputation; and his trading voyages inspired poems descriptive of the scenery of the southern islands, and made possible what is perhaps his most original and distinctive work, his naval ballads.

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[1] See also Book II, Chaps. II, III, and VI.

From the volumes of the most recent edition of Freneau's poems, aggregating 1200 pages, the reader gains the impression that had this poet written half as much he might have written twice as well. That he was something of the artist is shown by the care with which he revised his poems for five successive editions; but his revisions are sometimes actually for the worse. Yet Freneau surpassed all his contemporaries not only in quality but also in sheer quantity and in variety of subject and form. Furthermore, his work presents an almost unique combination of satiric power, romantic imagination, and feeling for nature. At one extreme is the bitter invective of his satires; at the other, the delicate fancy of his best lyrics. His early poems show the influence of Milton, as in *The Power of Fancy;* of Gray, as in *The Monument of Phaon* and *The Deserted Farm House;* and of Goldsmith, as in *The American Village*—all of which contain lines of original power and beauty; but in his *Pictures of Columbus*, he reaches complete originality. When the poet has Columbus exclaim in the face of death,

> The winds blow high; one other world remains;
> Once more without a guide I find the way,

he shows that at last the new world has produced a poet.

In his voyages Freneau found the tropical scenery of his descriptive poems. *The Beauties of Santa Cruz*, though unequal and crude, has a definiteness of imagery and a simplicity of diction that set it apart from the conventional school of Thomson. *The House of Night*, which combines description and narrative, is the most remarkable poem written in America up to its time. In the use of "romantic" scenery and of death as a theme, Freneau was not a pioneer; but in his supernaturalism and in the strange and haunting music of his lines, he stood alone, and, as has often been remarked, anticipated Coleridge and Poe. Although Freneau was known in England, it may be doubted whether he influenced the English romantic poets. More probably, both he and they were influenced by the same general tendencies; for the romantic movement was already well under way when he wrote the *The House of Night*. The poem is overlong, lacks unity of tone and matter, and altogether is disappointingly crude; but it contains such lines as

so loud and sad it play'd
As though all music were to breathe its last,

I saw the infernal windows flaming red,

and

Trim the dull tapers, for I see no dawn,

which are a source of astonishment to one who has followed the course of American poetry up to this point. But unfortunately the romantic strain which promised so richly was soon lost.

Freneau's poems of the "glory of America" type, such as his *Rising Glory of America*, written in collaboration with H. H. Brackenridge[1] when the two were seniors at Princeton, were inspired by a great vision and still retain a certain eloquence. His burlesques of American scenes and characters, such as *Slender's Journey*, are less successful; but his satires in both quantity and variety surpassed all but *McFingal* in their day. "Poet of the American Revolution" is no misnomer, if the term is to include political events up to 1815. Freneau's masters in satire are Dryden, Churchill, and "Peter Pindar"; and his tone ranges from burlesque to invective. *The Political Balance* and *The British Prison Ship* are the most powerful and original satires of their time. The royalist printers Rivington and Gaine were his chief targets during the last years of the Revolution. In his personal satires he uses the anapest, which he was the first to popularize in America. His later satires, usually in lyrical stanzas, were suggested by "Peter Pindar"; the phrase "Peter Pindar of America" gives the key to his contemporary reputation. That his finer work received no praise was to Freneau a source of discouragement and even of bitterness. His aspiration was lyrical; but he had fallen on evil days:

On these bleak climes by fortune thrown,
Where rigid reason reigns alone,
Where lovely fancy has no sway,
Nor magic forms about us play—
Nor nature takes her summer hue,
Tell me, what has the muse to do?[2]

Freneau's newspaper work, his political affiliations, and his business ventures operated unfavourably upon his lyrical poetry.

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[1] For whom see also Book II, Chap. VI.

[2] *To an Author.*

Although his fervour was reawakened by the French Revolution and again by the War of 1812, almost all his best lyrics were written between 1775 and 1790. In the main these concern the American Indian, the smaller objects of nature, and the sea, and in subject at least are altogether original. *The Indian Burying Ground* is well known; *The Indian Student*, which curiously anticipates some phases of Wordsworth's *Ruth*, and *The Dying Indian*, are scarcely less fine. His nature lyrics, such as *The Wild Honeysuckle*, *The Caty-Did*, and *On the Sleep of Plants*, are the first to give lyrical expression to American nature. Their simplicity and restraint suggest Collins and Gray, but they are not imitative, and it is probable that Freneau is more original in even the style of his lyrics than has generally been acknowledged. *To a Man of Ninety* would at once be lighted upon as an imitation of Wordsworth had it not actually anticipated the *Lyrical Ballads*. The elegiac lyric *Eutaw Springs*, which Scott pronounced the best thing of its kind in the language, may have been suggested by Collins, but is still strongly original. However this may be, Freneau seems to merit all that his latest editor claims for him as a pioneer in the lyric of the sea. *On the Death of Captain Nicholas Biddle* (1779) has much of Campbell's spirit and power; *The Paul Jones* and *Captain Barney's Victory over the General Monk* deserve more than the mere credit given to the pioneer, for they are intrinsically fine.

There remains, then, out of Freneau's voluminous product, a small body of work of permanent interest. *The House of Night* deserves remembrance, not only for its pioneer romanticism but also for passages of intrinsic beauty and power; and a score of his lyrics, while far from perfect, are fine enough to deserve a permanent place in our anthologies. What his slender but genuine talent might have produced under more favourable conditions, even a generation later, can only be surmised, but even as it is we have in Freneau the only American poet before Bryant who possessed both imaginative insight and felicity of style.

A few general conclusions concerning early American poetry may be stated briefly. First, the sheer quantity of it is surprisingly large in proportion to the population. Again, it is not the product of a new civilization, but as a whole is the extremely sophisticated result of English literary traditions. In style at least it is highly imitative of English models, and in many instances it shows an immediate transmission of literary influences. Finally, in the average merit of its style, it is, at least in the eighteenth century, quite equal to all but the very best of its time in the mother country. Altogether, the first two centuries of American poetry prepared the soil for the truly native growth that was to come after 1812—a growth that was no sudden phenomenon but simply the inevitable result of the cumulative forces of two hundred years.

Book II

CHAPTER I

Travellers and Observers, 1763–1846

THE literature of travel, fresh, varied, and cosmopolitan, doubtless owes its principal charm to its effect upon the sense of wonder, and hence in the last analysis is to be understood in its bearing upon imagination and poetic art; but its relation to history and geography is not superficial. Accordingly, we may first recall such dates and events as will suggest in outline the expanding region in which the second great division of American travellers range. With the close of the French and Indian War begins the supremacy of the English-speaking race in North America. Before twenty years had passed, the Colonies, no longer a mere fringe of population along the Atlantic, have achieved their independence, and possess a territory reaching inland to the Mississippi. Twenty years later, in 1803, comes the Louisiana Purchase, when the wily Napoleon, for a consideration, and to thwart his colonizing foe across the Channel, endowed the Americans with a tract of land extending from that great river north-west to the Rocky Mountains, the importance of which even Jefferson, with his westward-looking eyes, was unable to grasp in full. Another eight years, and there is a temporary check in the Astoria Settlement, later recorded by Irving. Then comes the War of 1812–14, and after it a rapid inrush of immigration. Of the native citizens, two generations have been born since the War of Independence; Revolutionary heroes are passing; and the new leaders are alien to England. The nation has become distinct. In 1819 Spain relaxes her feeble hold upon Florida.

In 1823, twenty years after the Louisiana Purchase, the utterance of the Monroe Doctrine announces to the world the position of the United States in the Occident. Meantime internal waterways and highroads have been developed; and subsequently, during the presidency of Jackson, the steam locomotive is introduced. The year 1845 marks the annexation of Texas; and with the cession of New Mexico and California in 1848, the country virtually assumes its present proportions. Almost a century has passed since the nondescript Captain Carver, immediately after the French and Indian War, conceived the idea of opening up the vast north-western tract to the enterprise of Great Britain. The interest of travellers has shifted from the character and habits of the roving Indian to the domestic manners of East and West, North and South; and science has moved from a less impersonal, yet fairly exact, observation of plants and animals, or of subterranean rivers in a terrestrial paradise, to the precise geology of a Featherstonhaugh or a Lyell.

This period of travel saw the rise of modern geography as an exact science, and the development of the ancillary sciences, geology, botany, zoology, and anthropology. If the great epoch of modern geographical discovery began with 1768 and the voyages of the Englishman Captain Cook, the scientific elaboration of results by Continental investigators also mainly occupied the second half of the eighteenth century. Linnæus was still alive, and had followers collecting specimens in America. Zimmermann, who translated the *Travels* of William Bartram into German, likewise ushered in the study of the geographical distribution of plants and animals as well as of mankind; while Blumenbach the anthropologist was making his famous collection of human skulls at Göttingen. The first work on physical geography ever published, that of the Swede Bergman, appeared in 1766, shortly before the time when books of American travel began to grow numerous. The influence of Continental science upon American observers is often obvious, as in the case of Linnæus, to which Zimmermann refers in his translation of Bartram. Indeed, a pupil of Linnæus, Pehr Kalm, who has been included among the botanists of Philadelphia, is remembered for his description of Niagara Falls. But the influence was pervasive and general, so that geography proper soon became domesticated in this country. The *Geography Made Easy* of Jedidiah Morse, first published at New Haven in 1784, quickly went through a number of editions and transformations. About 1796 President Dwight of Yale, in his *Travels*, records that a work of Morse is studied by both freshmen and sophomores, probably referring to a revision of the more extensive *American Geography* of 1789. Dwight himself made judicious use of it. The indefatigable Morse, though not a Humboldt, a Ritter, or a Leopold von Buch, was a lowly precursor of the European scientists who furnished the next generation with ideals in geography and travel.

If territorial expansion and the development of geographical science are to be noted in studying the literature of travel, the general background of eighteenth-century thought must not be forgotten. The so-called rationalism of the French, with its tendency to destroy traditional distinctions, to suppress imagination, and yet to end in a kind of deism, is too large a subject for more than passing notice. On the other hand, we may dwell for a moment upon the sentimental treatment of external nature in Rousseau, and upon his conception, in part derived from early American travellers, of the "natural" man in a terrestrial paradise. Such a being could, in fact, exist only in a tropical or sub-tropical environment such as the favoured regions in which the first American explorers and missionaries encountered the natives. Yet the transference of the idea to the Indians of North America was easy in an age when popular geography was vague; and the faith of the Jesuits in the potential goodness of the savage doubtless helped to propagate a general belief that the aborigines were noble. The idea, which seems rather to have come from the travellers than from Rousseau, but possibly is dormant in almost every educated mind, is well established in American literature from William Bartram to Fenimore Cooper. The related notion of social equality in a state of nature has a more solid basis. As in Crèvecœur's *American Farmer*, it grows out of the facts of life in a new agricultural settlement.

An opposite conception was also prevalent. Side by side with the ideal of an eloquent stoic, artless, magnanimous by nature, we find—often in the same book of travels—the cruel savage as he is, vengeful and impure. Montaigne, indeed, a predecessor of Rousseau in admiring the unlettered aborigines, had held that the European surpassed the savage in barbarity; yet when he turns from the ideal to the actual, there is but a step between Montaigne and Hobbes, who declares the life of nature to be "nasty, solitary, brutish, and short." And Hobbes merely anticipates Voltaire and Pauw, whose unedifying pictures of American natives were put together from the accounts of travellers. We have, then, in the literature of Europe the same opposition between observed fact and preconceived notion that we meet in Bartram or Carver. On the one hand, we have *La Jeune Indienne* of Chamfort, presented at the Théâtre Français in 1764, or Rousseau's *Chanson des Sauvages* and *Danse Canadienne*; on the other, a debate among the learned on the question whether the villainy of the Indians was original, or had been acquired through contact with civilization. In *De l'Amérique et des Américains*, published at Berlin in 1771, the anonymous author attacks the theories of Pauw, and vigorously contends that the savages were evil enough to begin with.

Man in a state of nature suggests solitude; and solitude, with its charms for the eighteenth-century poet, suggests the so-called "feeling for nature" that of late has been much discussed by literary students in dealing with that period. Though the point is not always made clear, the actual topic under discussion is the Neoplatonic doctrine of divine immanence. To a man who believes in this, the world, with its plants and animals, is no longer a work of art, shaped by the fingers of a Master-Artist; it is filled with a subtle spirit which is interfused in all material and living things, "rolls" through them, and is their principle of movement and pulsation. In one form or another, this notion of immanence, familiar in the earlier poems of Wordsworth, characterizes the reaction against the age of reason, and may be found in many observers of nature in America. Its origin is obscure; nor can one readily see why Neoplatonic ideas should cast a spell over minds so diverse as those of Rousseau, Goethe, Wordsworth, and the Quaker Bartram. The suggestion has been made that the writings of the mystic Boehme had an influence upon the Society of Friends. But the sources of the "feeling for nature" are likely to have been as various as the evidences of it in American travellers.

Against the background thus rapidly sketched we are to project a hundred years of travel and observation. The wealth and variety of material are very great. For the period in question, one bibliographer has recorded 413 titles of works bearing upon the single state of Illinois; for the same region between 1818 and 1865, he notes 69 British travellers, 53 American, and 31 German. For the country as a whole, a second writer has listed forty-five books of the sort by foreigners between 1789 and 1820. Whether of American or foreign origin, such books were not restricted to one volume; gradually there came to be two or three, and sometimes four. And commonly the route described was one of these: from New York to Albany, and thence across to Niagara Falls; from an eastern port south to Savannah by boat, then overland to Mobile and New Orleans, and up the Mississippi; from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, down the Ohio to the Mississippi, and from the Mississippi up the Missouri to the North-west. Canadian travellers followed the St. Lawrence.

As the lists would indicate, the literature is cosmopolitan—an inference that is confirmed in other ways. Not only were the works of foreigners turned into English, but British and American observers were translated on the Continent: Bartram into French, German, and Dutch; Crèvecœur into French (by himself) and German; Weld into Italian, Dutch, and German; and so on. Again, the same work, as, for example, Bartram's, might be published in the same year at Philadelphia and at London or Dublin, or first in this country, and then abroad, or *vice versa*. And finally, the borrowings from earlier by later travellers, irrespective of tongues, are endless.

Confining ourselves as far as possible to British and American travellers, we may say that their motives were as various as their callings and station, and ran from the lust of a Daniel Boone for new solitudes, through the desire to promote the fur trade or immigration, and through semi-scientific or scientific curiosity, to the impulses of the literary artist or to the religious aims of the missionary. George Rogers Clark, Logan, and Boone were pioneers. Fearon, Darby, and Faux came to study conditions for emigrants. Bernard, Tyrone Power, and Fanny Kemble were actors. Wilson, Nuttall, and Audubon were professed ornithologists; the Bartrams and Michaux, botanists.

Schoolcraft was an ethnologist, Chevalier a student of political economy, Fanny Wright a social reformer. Grund, Combe the phrenologist, and Miss Martineau had a special interest in humanitarian projects. Richard Weston was a bookseller, John M. Peck a Baptist missionary, DeWitt Clinton, who explored the route of the future Erie Canal, a statesman. Many others had eyes trained in surveying. Boone was a surveyor, like Washington himself—and Washington may be classed with the observers and diarists. Buckingham, a traveller by vocation, had journeyed about the world for thirty years before visiting America; nor did he feel his obligation ended when he had published the customary three stout volumes. Crèvecœur actually was a farmer, though he was more, and Richard Parkinson, very definitely, a student of agriculture. The abusive Ashe came to examine the "western" rivers, and to observe the products and actual state of the adjacent country. Among transients from the Continent were Chastellux, the friend of Washington, Chateaubriand, with his youthful plan of helping Washington to discover the Northwest Passage, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, a fair observer, and De Tocqueville, who wrote his classic treatise on America after a brief visit for the purpose of studying prisons. "Charles Sealsfield" (Karl Postl), whose several periods of residence were longer, who wrote in English, yet more in German, and whose tombstone in Switzerland calls him "*ein Buerger von Nordamerika*," is hard to classify.

The commonest type among these works seems to be the journal, which is the form used by William Bartram; but the epistolary type, represented by Crèvecœur, by Dwight, and by Wirt in his *Letters of the British Spy*, is very common. The general range of substance is displayed by circumstantial titles in the Bibliography. Among objects of interest to many were, in the early years of the Republic, the persons of Washington and Jefferson, and, in his time, the picturesque figure of Jackson; and among natural wonders, Niagara Falls, the "Rock Bridge" of Virginia, and the Mammoth Cave. This, after its discovery by Hutchins in 1809, took its place in the attractions of Kentucky with the furry cap of Boone. The Indians, of course, supplied an unfailing interest. Their habits, as in Bartram, speculation concerning their origin, as in Timothy

Dwight, and remarks upon their language, as in Carver, are stock material; so, too, such lists as Carver's of plants and animals. Another topic is seen in Gilbert Imlay's anticipations of states to be formed from the land to the north and west of the Ohio. Or an occasional enthusiast, possibly remembering Berkeley's project for educating the natives, will found an imaginary school of letters in a suitable landscape. Thus Stansbury in central New York, almost fifty years before the opening of Cornell University, deems the site of Ithaca most fitting for a college: "Inexhaustible stores for the study of natural history will always be at hand, and for all other sciences the scholar will be secluded in a romantic retirement which will give additional zest to his researches." The attention of others, as Fanny Kemble and Harriet Martineau, is drawn to the negro and his master in the South, more than ever, perhaps, after the anti-slavery agitation in England.

But the interest in slavery, in frontier life, and indeed in all the main topics of the later travellers, is not peculiar to them, partly because essentials are necessarily repeated, partly because subsequent observers have read, and often consciously imitate, their predecessors. Crèvecœur's ghastly picture of the slave in chains would impress any sensitive reader. But nowhere could imitation be clearer than in respect to impossible marvels, which even the steadiest early observers like Bartram are impelled to relate. We read in his description of an enraged alligator: "The waters like a cataract descend from his opening jaws; clouds of smoke issue from his dilated nostrils"; and, aware that this guileless traveller was merely yielding to custom, we are not led to undervalue his notes on sub-tropical fauna. Nor are we forced to discredit an entire later work, wherein adventures, like some of those in Ashe, may be altogether imaginary. Further, when unconscious imitation passes into extensive borrowing, as in Carver, we must recall the tolerance which the eighteenth century showed to this sort of indebtedness, and not condemn the debtor out of hand. So late as the year 1836, Irving could employ good sources in his own way, with a general acknowledgment of the fact in his Introduction.

For various reasons the earlier travels are more interesting; and it may be said that the best of them appeared, or were written, between 1775 and 1800. We may select as typical the

Travels of Carver (1778), the *Travels* of William Bartram (1791), and the *Letters from an American Farmer* of Crèvecœur (1782).

The dubious personal history of Carver, and questions as to the authenticity of his book, will excuse the introduction of certain details in his biography. Jonathan Carver, the ostensible author of *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768*, was not the great-grandson of the first colonial Governor of Connecticut, but was probably born in humble circumstances at Canterbury in that state. In 1746 he married Abigail Robbins, by whom he had seven children; he later contracted a bigamous marriage in England. The extent of his education has been disputed; but he seems to have had some knowledge of surveying and map-making, with perhaps a smattering of medicine. His title-page calls him "J. Carver, Esq., Captain of a Company of Provincial Troops during the Late War with France"; and he probably was captured with Burk's company of rangers in 1757, when he was "wounded in his Leg at the bloody Massacree of the unhappy Garrison of Fort William Henry at Lake George." The war over, he says he began to think of exploring the most unknown parts of England's new territory. In the opinion of a severe critic, Professor Edward G. Bourne, Carver's actual journey was limited to this: he went from Boston to Michilimackinac, thence by way of the Fox River and the Wisconsin to the Mississippi, and thence up the Minnesota; returning, he explored northern Wisconsin and the northern shore of Lake Superior. Failing in Boston to publish an account of his discoveries, in 1769 he went to England with a project for further exploration in the North-west. The pecuniary aid accorded him as a needy person by the Government would argue some recognition of his services. He evidently enlisted the sympathy of Dr. Lettsom and others who took an interest in his schemes, and, like many another, no doubt received help with the manuscript before his *Travels* were published in 1778. But he failed in his main endeavour, and is said to have "died in misery, in 1780, at the age of 48."

His book instantly became popular, and it so remained, as twenty-three editions and translations bear witness. The author or compiler, whoever he was, understood the public, was a man of some imagination, and knew how to combine

Carver's own material with observations from previous writers; nor does he fail to mention, in the casual way of the time, authorities like Charlevoix and Adair, from whom, as we now look at things, we must say he unblushingly filches. Here is one of the examples pointed out by Professor Bourne. Charlevoix had said of the Indians in the English translation:

> On the smoothest grass, or the hardest earth, even on the very stones, they will discover the traces of an enemy, and by their shape and figure of the footsteps, and the distance between their prints, they will, it is said, distinguish not only different nations, but also tell whether they were men or women who have gone that way.

And in Carver we read:

> On the smoothest grass, on the hardest earth, and even on the very stones, will they discover the traces of an enemy, and by the shape of the footsteps, and the distance between the prints, distinguish not only whether it is a man or woman who has passed that way, but even the nation to which they belong.

In spite of his borrowings, and in spite of incredible and monstrous stories, even worse than the sordid actualities of savage life, Carver maintains that he is strictly veracious:

> I shall in no instance exceed the bounds of truth, or have recourse to those useless and extravagant exaggerations too often made use of by travellers, to excite the curiosity of the public, or to increase their own importance. Nor shall I insert any observations but such as I have made myself, or, from the credibility of those by whom they were related, am enabled to vouch for their authenticity.

These false pretensions easily lead one to underestimate the element of truth in the narrative, and Carver's share in its production. Carver was not too uneducated to make notes and gather materials for a book. He could write a long coherent letter to his first wife, and specimens of his writing are not in the hand of an ignorant man. He, not less than his assistant or assistants in publication, could have met with the works of Charlevoix, Adair, and Lahontan in London book-stalls. But it was hardly his pen that made reference to Plato and Grotius.

The volume is dedicated "To Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society." Then follows, in the second edition, a magniloquent Address to the Public. The journal proper occupies but a third of the volume. Next come seventeen chapters on the origin, physique, and dress of the Indians, their manners and customs, their government, their food, dances, methods of warfare and games, and their language. The eighteenth deals with animals, birds—as, for example, "the Whipperwill, or, as it is termed by the Indians, the Muckawiss"—fishes, reptiles, and insects; the nineteenth, with the vegetable kingdom. There is an Appendix on the future of discovery, settlement, and commerce. In his Introduction Carver says:

> What I chiefly had in view, after gaining a knowledge of the Manners, Customs, Languages, Soil, and natural Productions of the different nations that inhabit the back of the Mississippi, was to ascertain the Breadth of that vast continent which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in its broadest part between 43 and 46 Degrees Northern Latitude. Had I been able to accomplish this, I intended to have proposed to Government to establish a Post in some of those parts about the Straits of Annian, which, having been first discovered by Sir Francis Drake, of course belong to the English. This I am convinced would greatly facilitate the discovery of a North-West Passage, or a communication between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean. . . . A settlement on that extremity of America . . . would open a passage for conveying intelligence to China and the English settlements in the East Indies, with greater expedition than a tedious voyage by the Cape of Good Hope or the Straits of Magellan will allow of.

This was the dream that foreshadowed the present development of the entire North-west. It worked in the mind of Jefferson, took shape in the Lewis and Clark expedition and in the enterprise of John Jacob Astor, and reappeared in Irving's *Astoria*. Carver's volume still fastens upon the imagination, as it did in the time of Schiller, Wordsworth, and Chateaubriand.

Coleridge, who found pleasure in Carver's descriptions, doubtless set a higher value upon Bartram; he says in *Table Talk*: "The latest book of travels I know, written in the spirit of the old travellers, is Bartram's account of his tour in the Floridas. It is a work of high merit every way." The poet almost certainly refers, not to *A Journal Kept by John Bartram* *of Philadelphia, Botanist to His Majesty for the Floridas;* but to the volume of *Travels* by his son, William Bartram. Yet it is difficult to mention the son without reference to the father, whom Linnæus called the greatest self-taught botanist in the world. John Bartram, born in 1699, when almost seventy years old explored the St. John's River in Florida, accompanied by William, who in turn made a second journey to the region in 1773, "at the request of Dr. Fothergill, of London," the English naturalist being zealous "for the discovery of rare and useful productions . . . chiefly in the vegetable kingdom." Both father and son corresponded with European scientists, including Gronov and Dillen, but more particularly with Peter Collinson, through whom the elder Bartram came into relations with virtually all the distinguished naturalists of his time. The botanic garden for which the father began to collect in 1730, and which is now within the limits of Philadelphia, was justly famous. Here, it is said, Washington and Franklin were wont to sit and talk just prior to the Revolution; and Bartram's Garden is still an object of interest as the first establishment of its kind on this continent. From a local guide is extracted this description of its founder:

> He was one of an early incorporated company to bank the Schuylkill and the Delaware, by which means he rescued, out of extensive swamps, arable land, and pasture for many cattle and horses; his crops of wheat challenge the farmer of to-day; he fertilized his orchard in an ingenious way that was a "miracle in husbandry." Besides, he was stone-mason; his interesting old house he built with his own hands, quarrying the stone on his estate in a remarkable manner; see, also, in the Garden the watering-trough and the cider-press, cut out of solid rock. And his record is fuller yet; he had to study Latin for his botany; he was enough acquainted with medicine and surgery to be of great help to his poorer neighbors; he delineated a plan for deep-sea soundings more than a hundred years before the *Challenger* expedition. His thirst for knowledge was insatiable. His joy in the revelations of nature was unbounded. What wonder that he was astonished when people complained that they were tired of time!

His son William, called by the Seminoles "Puc-Puggy" (Flower-Hunter), was born at Kingsessing, Pennsylvania, 1739, he and his twin-sister taking fifth place in the succession of children. He grew up with the Garden, accompanied his father on collecting tours, travelled himself, and published his *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges, or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Chactaws*, as well as "the most complete and correct list of American birds prior to the work of Alexander Wilson"; he lived in Philadelphia, unmarried, a student of science, caring for the Garden until his death in 1823. A professorship was offered him in 1782 by the University of Pennsylvania, but failing health led him to decline it. His manuscript work on the Indians was published by the American Ethnological Society in 1853.

The *Travels* reveal the enthusiasm of a man still young, with an eye that nothing escapes, not without poetical imagination or philosophical vision, and with a deep reverence for the Creative Spirit which he feels in all about him. The volume is divided into four Parts. In the first, the Introduction, he recounts the voyage by packet from Philadelphia to Savannah, whence he proceeds to the "Alatamaha" River. The second describes East Florida, and the ascent of St. John's River in a small canoe. On reaching Lake George, "which is a dilatation of the River St. Juan," his vessel "at once diminished to a nutshell on the swelling seas." The Indian whom he engaged to assist him on the upper river becoming weary, Bartram continues on alone, to encamp at an orange grove, to battle with alligators, and to observe "a large sulphureous fountain." Descending again, he is robbed by a wolf, and so, after sundry adventures, arrives at the lower trading-house. He then "proceeds on a journey to Cuscowilla," where he meets with a friendly reception from the "Siminoles," and from there goes to view the "great bason" or sink, whose subterranean waters swarm with fish. In Part III, having returned to Charleston, he sets out for the Cherokee territories and the "Chactaw" country, going as far as Mobile, from which, turning back, he accompanies a band of traders to visit the Creeks. Again in the company of traders, he sets off for Georgia; from Augusta he revisits Savannah, whence he makes a "short excursion in the South of Georgia," adding to his collection, and gathering seeds of "two new and very curious shrubs." At Charleston he began the overland journey northward through Virginia; he crossed the River Susquehanna on the ice, "next morning sat forward again towards Philadelphia," and in two days more arrived at his father's house on the banks of the River Schuylkill, having been absent nearly five years.

Though collecting as a botanist and observing as an ornithologist, Bartram thus far has mainly been occupied with the Indians. In Part IV he discusses their persons, character, and qualifications, noting that they have the "most perfect human figure," their government and civil society, their dress and amusements, property and occupations, marriage and funeral rites, and their language and monuments. The ready pencil of the naturalist provided the engraver with drawings of botanical and zoological subjects throughout the volume. The frontispiece represents "Mico Chlucco the Long Warrior, or King of the Siminoles," whose dancing crest of splendid feathers flashes again in Wordsworth's *Ruth.*

A bare survey does scant justice to the richness of form and colour in Bartram's pages. At one time he is struck with "the tall aspiring Gordonia lasianthus." "Its thick foliage, of a dark green colour, is flowered over with large milk-white fragrant blossoms, on long slender elastic peduncles, at the extremities of its numerous branches, from the bosom of the leaves, and renewed every morning"—the "budding, fading, faded flowers" of *Ruth.* Or again we see the solitary dejected "wood-pelican," alone on the topmost limb of a dead cypress; "it looks extremely grave, sorrowful, and melancholy, as if in the deepest thought"—an image used by Wordsworth in Book Third of *The Prelude.* Of the "Alatamaha" Bartram says: "I ascended this beautiful river, on whose fruitful banks the generous and true sons of liberty securely dwell, fifty miles above the white settlements." Allured by the "sublime enchanting scenes of primitive nature," and by "visions of terrestrial happiness," he wandered away to a grove at the edge of a luxuriant savannah:

> How happily situated is this retired spot of earth! What an elysium it is! where the wandering Siminole, the naked red warrior, roams at large, and after the vigorous chase retires from the scorching heat of the meridian sun. Here he reclines and reposes under the

> odoriferous shades of Zanthoxylon, his verdant couch guarded by the Deity; Liberty, and the Muses, inspiring him with wisdom and valour, whilst the balmy zephyrs fan him to sleep.

The apostrophes and redundant descriptions, which the rigorous German translator pruned away, did not prevent Zimmermann from calling Bartram's volume one of the most instructive works of the time. The faults of an unpractised writer are relieved by a constant cheerfulness, candour, and animation; "cheerful," "cheering," and "social" are favourite epithets. The words "animate," "animating," "vibration," and the like, give a clue to his Neoplatonic and Hartleian philosophy, which subtly recommended him to contemporary European poets:

> If, then, the visible, the mechanical part of the animal creation, the mere material part, is so admirably beautiful, harmonious, and incomprehensible, what must be the intellectual system? that inexpressibly more essential principle, which secretly operates within? that which animates the inimitable machines, which gives them motion, impowers them to act, speak, and perform, this must be divine and immortal?

There is a motion and a spirit in the environment itself: "At the reanimating appearance of the rising sun, nature again revives"; "the atmosphere was now animated with the efficient principle of vegetative life"; "the balmy winds breathed the animating odours of the groves around me." "At the return of the morning, by the powerful influence of light, the pulse of nature becomes more active, and the universal vibration of life insensibly and irresistibly moves the wondrous machine. How cheerful and gay all nature appears." In Bartram the "feeling for nature" is quite as distinct as the idea of the "natural" man. The social philosophy of the time is more apparent in Crèvecœur.

In a letter to Richard Henderson on the subject of immigrants, Washington writes (19 June, 1788):

> The author of the queries may then be referred to the *Information for those who would wish to remove to America*, and [*sic*] published in Europe in the year 1784, by the great philosopher Dr. Franklin. Short as it is, it contains almost everything that needs to be known on the subject of migrating to this country. . . .

Of books at present existing, Mr. Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* will give the best idea of this part of the continent to a foreigner; and the *American Farmer's Letters*, written by Mr. Crèvecœur (commonly called Mr. St. John), the French consul in New York, who actually resided twenty years as a farmer in that State, will afford a great deal of profitable and amusive information, respecting the private life of the Americans, as well as the progress of agriculture, manufactures, and arts in their country. Perhaps the picture he gives, though founded on fact, is in some instances embellished with rather too flattering circumstances.

"The name of our Family is St. Jean, in English St. John, a name as Antient as the Conquest of England by William the Bastard." So writes St. Jean de Crèvecœur, but he puts "J. Hector St. John" on the title-page of his imaginary *Letters from an American Farmer*. Born at Caen, 31 January, 1735, at the age of sixteen he went to England. A seven years' education there may explain the superiority of his English style over his French. Emigrating to Canada, he subsequently was resident in Pennsylvania, and in 1764 became a citizen of New York. After five years he settled as a farmer in Ulster County; at a mature age for the colonies he married Mehetable Tippet of Yonkers. He made journeys in New York and Pennsylvania, and to the west, to the south as far as Charleston—possibly to Jamaica, and into New England. In 1779, on attempting to return to France, he was imprisoned in New York City as a spy. When released, he went to England, sold his *Letters* for thirty guineas, and crossed to Normandy; we find him writing from Caen in 1781. Through the Countess de Houdetot of Rousseau's *Confessions* he was enabled to send a copy of his book to Franklin, then (1782) on a mission abroad. Instrumental in helping Americans in England to return to this country, when Crèvecœur himself came back, in 1783, it was to find his wife just dead, and his children in the care of strangers. Meanwhile he had been appointed French consul in New York. His travels with Franklin gave rise to a three-volume work, not so interesting as the *Letters*, entitled *Voyage dans la Haute Pennsylvanie*. From 1790 until his death at Sarcelles, 12 November, 1813, he lived in France.

The *Letters* of this "farmer of feelings" to a doubtless hypothetical "W. S. Ecuyer" are dedicated "to the Abbé Raynal, F.R.S.":

> Behold, Sir, an humble American Planter, a simple cultivator of the earth, addressing you from the farther side of the Atlantic. . . . As an eloquent and powerful advocate, you have pleaded the cause of humanity in espousing that of the poor Africans; you viewed these provinces of North America in their true light, as the asylum of freedom, as the cradle of future nations, and the refuge of distressed Europeans.

Of the twelve, the Introductory Letter is intentionally rambling. A former European guest having asked for a detailed account of colonial life, "neighbour James" seeks counsel of the minister, who tells him: "He that shall write a letter every day of the week will on Saturday perceive the sixth flowing from his pen much more readily than the first." But the Farmer's wife dissuades him, unless the plan be followed secretly, so as not to arouse gossip. A chance allusion to the speeches of "friend Edmund," that is, of Burke, accords with the attention to style in the letters that follow. "If they be not elegant," says the minister, "they will smell of the woods, and be a little wild"; but he also assures the Farmer: "Nature hath given you a tolerable share of good sense . . . some perspicuity," and "a warmth of imagination which enables you to think with quickness." The second letter takes up the situation, feelings, and pleasures of an American farmer, and the third, on "What is an American?" relates the diverting experiences of Andrew the Hebridean, in his first meeting with Indians. In the fourth we pass to the Island of Nantucket, while the fifth describes the education and employment of the islanders. In the sixth, after an account of Martha's Vineyard and the whale fishery, the author returns to a discussion of manners and customs, this topic continuing in the seventh and eighth. The ninth transfers us to Charleston and the South, where slavery brings the author to "an examination of what is called civilized society." "Would you prefer the state of men in the woods to that of men in a more improved situation? Evil preponderates in both. . . . For my part, I think the vices and miseries to be found in the latter exceed those of the former." In the tenth, a special inquiry of the correspondent abroad is met with a dissertation on snakes and on the humming-bird. The eleventh is a letter "From Mr. Iw–n Al–z, a Russian Gentleman, describing the Visit he paid at my request to Mr. John Bertram, the celebrated Pennsylvania Botanist." The twelfth and last pictures the distress of a "frontier man"—menaced by the savages, and unsettled by the revolt of the colonies,—who "would chearfully go even to the Mississippi, to find that repose to which we have been so long strangers"; with his appeal to the Father of Nature, to the Supreme Being whose creative power inhabits "the immense variety of planets," the volume closes.

Crèvecœur's pretext of an inquiring foreigner mirrored the curiosity of Europe respecting the colonies, and the way in which that curiosity was satisfied, not merely through the multiplying books of travel, but also through the exchange and publication of formal letters. Such was the origin of Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia; Written in the Year 1781, Somewhat Corrected and Enlarged in the Winter of 1782, for the Use of a Foreigner of Distinction, in Answer to certain Queries Proposed by Him.* This serious piece of scientific writing, perhaps the most frequently printed treatise that has emanated from the South, was compiled by Jefferson while he was Governor of Virginia, and sent to M. Barbé de Marbois, Secretary of the French Legation. It was first issued at Paris (1784–85). The arid statistics, the details of agriculture, and the generally dry geography, important in their time, now mean less to the reader than do Jefferson's occasional flights in a loftier style, represented in the following:

> The Natural Bridge, the most sublime of nature's works, though not comprehended under the present head [Cascades and Caverns], must not be pretermitted. . . . Though the sides of this bridge are provided in some parts with a parapet of fixed rocks, yet few men have resolution to walk to them and look over into the abyss. You involuntarily fall on your hands and feet, creep to the parapet, and peep over it. Looking down from this height about a minute gave me a violent headache. If the view from the top be painful and intolerable, that from below is delightful in an equal extreme. It is impossible for the emotions arising from the sublime to be felt beyond what they are here; so beautiful an arch, so elevated, so light, and springing as it were up to heaven!

The influence of the *Notes*, of their author, and of Jeffersonian ideals, is constantly met in other works of description. The allusions to Washington himself are scarcely more frequent. In 1794 Henry Wansey, an English manufacturer, breakfasted with Washington, and "was struck with awe and admiration"; but about the same time, Thomas Cooper, who, in a flying visit, found "land cheap and labour dear," remarks that "the government is the government *of* the people and *for* the people." And when John Davis, the pedestrian, had from 1798 to 1802 "entered, with equal interest, the mud-hut of the negro and the log-house of the planter," he dedicated his book to Jefferson. Isaac Weld the Irishman, author of a widely read book on the United States and Canada, wrote one of his thirty-eight letters from Jefferson's then unfinished establishment at Monticello. He made mediocre pencil sketches of Niagara Falls, and the "Rock Bridge" of Virginia, but secured a picture of Mount Vernon from a friend. He visited the Dismal Swamp, saw Washington in a cheerful mood at a reception in Philadelphia, and culled observations on the Indians, helping himself at need from Carver and Jefferson. In Weld's account, the backsliding of the educated savage Joseph Brant became heroic.

With Weld, the strictures of the British travellers upon American life become sharp. A mild rejoinder to foreign depreciation soon appeared in the fictitious *Letters of the British Spy* by the American jurist William Wirt, which purported to derive from the abandoned manuscript of "a meek and harmless" young Englishman of rank who was travelling incognito. Composed in a formal Addisonian manner, this defence of American statesmen and American eloquence is overcharged with allusions to Cicero and Demosthenes. Nevertheless, some of the descriptions cling to the mind.[1] It is easy to perceive why the booklet went through so many editions, when one finds in it the leading men of the nation in 1803 under a thin disguise. Here, for example, is President Jefferson:

> The . . . of the United States is in his person tall, meagre, emaciated; his muscles relaxed, and his joints so loosely connected as not only to disqualify him, apparently, for any vigorous exertion

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[1] See also Book II, Chap. III.

of body, but to destroy everything like elegance and harmony in his air and movement.

Wirt's young nobleman denies to the President the gift of poetical fancy; yet Jefferson allowed such imaginative faculty as he possessed to dally with the theme of western exploration. As early as 1784 he was devising names for ten suggested states to the northwest—"Sylvania," "Michigania," "Metropolitamia," etc.,—after the pseudo-classical taste of the day. He was therefore ready to promote discovery in the far North-west when the moment for action arrived. Indeed, before the Lewis and Clark enterprise, he had twice made plans for the same general undertaking. More particularly, while he was Vice-President of the American Philosophical Society, in 1793, he had arranged with the French botanist Michaux, then in this country, for an expedition which was to follow the Missouri and some tributary thereof to a point where these waters might communicate with the Columbia River, opening a way to the Pacific. The scheme fell through when Michaux became involved in a French marauding project against the Spanish, and lingered among the recruits in Kentucky. It seems that Meriwether Lewis, a young neighbour of Jefferson, had desired the position of leader in the great exploration.

Lewis, who in 1801 became private secretary to Jefferson, was born in 1774 of a prominent stock in Virginia. After five years at a Latin school, he studied botany on his mother's farm, then entered the army raised to quell the Whiskey Rebellion, and, serving as an officer under Wayne, rose to be a captain. In the eyes of Jefferson, Lewis was "brave, prudent, habituated to the woods, and familiar with Indian manners and character," besides possessing "a great mass of accurate observation on all the subjects of nature." When chosen to pilot the now famous expedition which bears his name, he further prepared himself by studying with competent scientists at Philadelphia; and feeling the need of a companion for the tour, he chose a friend of his boyhood, his elder by four years, Captain William Clark, also a soldier under Wayne, experienced in Indian warfare, and practised in the construction of forts. An unpolished, but staunch and friendly man, heartily returning the warm affection of Lewis, Clark accepted the opportunity with spirit, and made ready to join him in seeking the information which Jefferson desired "for the benefit of our own country and of the world." For a time it was Jefferson's pretence that the undertaking was "a literary enterprise." But when the sale of Louisiana was ratified, there was no further need of concealing the interest of the Federal Government in the project.

Lewis left Pittsburgh on 31 August, 1803, to meet Clark in Kentucky. They wintered in Illinois, as Clark writes,

> at the enterance of a Small river opposit the Mouth of Missouri Called Wood River, where they formed their party, Composed of robust helthy hardy young men.

In the spring the detachment of twenty-nine regular members and sixteen supernumeraries began the slow progress up the Missouri. They spent the next winter in a stockade in North Dakota, proceeding in the spring of 1805 to the source of the Jefferson Fork of the Missouri, and under many hardships crossing over the barrier mountains toward the end of summer. Going down the Columbia River, they reached the Pacific at the close of the autumn, to pass the winter in their Fort Clatsop—log huts enclosed by a palisade. Here they had leisure to study the natives and to compile records. In March, 1806, they began the return journey. After surmounting the difficult snow-clad barrier in June, the party divided, Lewis making his way to the Falls of the Missouri, and exploring Maria's River, Clark returning to the head of Jefferson Fork, proceeding thence to the Yellowstone River, and following this down to the Missouri. Coming together again in August, they went to St. Louis in September, having consumed about two and one-third years in the wilds.

The subsequent duties of Lewis as Governor of Louisiana Territory, and of Clark as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, delayed the preparation of the records, although Jefferson was ardent for their publication. In 1809, Lewis, while on his way to Washington and Philadelphia to take charge of the editing, met his death, probably by violence, in Tennessee; whereupon the unlettered Clark, at the urgent desire of Jefferson, undertook the task with the help of Nicholas Biddle of Philadelphia.

Biddle performed the major part of the editing, and then Paul Allen, a journalist, supervised the printing. After many vicissitudes, the work was published in February, 1814. Much of the scientific material, however, was not included; nor was a strictly accurate account of the expedition and its results ever given to the world until the recent edition (1904–1905) of the *Original Journals* by Dr. Thwaites. Of the first edition, about 1400 copies were circulated, from the sale of which Clark apparently received nothing. Though the authentic work became popular in America and Europe, being reprinted and translated, the initial delay in publication, and the presence of other diarists in the party, made room for more than one earlier account of the expedition—for example, the *Journal* of Patrick Gass, of which there were five editions before 1814, as well as a French and a German translation in that year. However made known, the achievement of Lewis and Clark has won greater fame than any other geographical exploration ever undertaken within the United States proper. The Government expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains in 1819, under the command of Major Long, was more fruitful in technical results; and with the vast, though unmethodical, accumulations of Schoolcraft the data on Indians in the records edited by Biddle are not to be compared in value. But the authorized account of Jefferson's great enterprise, published in the concluding year of the final war with England, marked the fulfilment of Carver's vision, and betokened the approaching establishment of the United States as the ruling power in the Western Hemisphere.

When the strife of arms was settled by the Treaty of Ghent in 1814, a literary war between Great Britain and America burst into flame. It had long been smouldering. In the *Travels* of the Rev. Andrew Burnaby, of the Church of England, there was little to offend the jealous or sensitive American. This genial clergyman went through the "Middle Settlements," beginning with Virginia, in 1759 and 1760. His slender volume, published in 1775, had reached a third edition by 1798, being revised and enlarged, and was still valued in 1812 when Pinkerton chose it for his collection of travels in all parts of the world. Burnaby's affection for the colonies is only second to his love of England. He balances the advantages and disadvantages of North and

South, and of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. At "Prince-town" he finds "a handsome school and college for the education of dissenters, erected upon the plan of those in Scotland," with "about twenty boys in the grammar-school, and sixty in the college." There are "only two professors, besides the provost." He sees beautiful homes along the Raritan River, and handsome ladies at "Brunswick"; but the people of Rhode Island "are cunning, deceitful, and selfish"—though he adds: "After having said so much to the disadvantage of this colony, I should be guilty of injustice and ingratitude, were I not to declare that there are many worthy gentlemen in it, who see the misfortunes of their country, and lament them." The lower classes at Boston are insufferably inquisitive; yet "Arts and Sciences seem to have made a greater progress here than in any other part of America." By 1798 Burnaby might well have revised his prediction that "America is formed for happiness, but not for empire." Before this there had been critics more hostile, like J. F. D. Smyth; but in British travellers who really belong to the period about 1800, there is a new and characteristic note of displeasure. Weld remarks that the Pennsylvania farmers "live in a penurious style"; they are "greatly inferior to the English." The roads are "execrable," and the Americans in general are prying. In Ashe, who had expected too much, the reaction against both people and customs is violent; he grieves because at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, he "did not meet with a man of decent literature"; and this is the mildest of his abuse. Weld, Parkinson, Ashe, and Bradbury, in a line, raise and re-echo the note of censure. Before Bradbury's work was published, there was a dismal chorus from the great British periodicals. As early as 1814 *The Quarterly Review* was chiming in, to be duly followed by the *Edinburgh* and the *British*, and by *Blackwood's Magazine*. Both Gifford and Sydney Smith lent their voices, and Southey was supposed by the Americans to have produced one of the bitterest attacks upon them. Various causes exasperated the discussion—discontented emigrants, discontent in England at the emigration, vainglory in America, especially over the outcome of the second war, the sensitiveness of Americans to the charge of inquisitiveness and lack of reserve, and, by no means least, the pirating of English books by American publishers.

The strife was at its height from 1814 to 1825. "In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book? or goes to an American play? or looks at an American picture or statue?" Such were the cordial questions put by Sydney Smith in *The Edinburgh Review* for January, 1820. The sourness of the reviewers, great and small, reacted upon new books of travel, and prospective observers when they crossed the ocean came with the prepossession that democratic institutions in America had corrupted good manners. There was a recrudescence of the old theory, once formulated by Pauw, that everything deteriorated when transplanted from Europe. Fearon (1818) — "no lover of America," said Sydney Smith,—Harris (1821), Welby (1821), and Faux (1823) gave the English public the reading it enjoyed, and the publishers welcomed fresh manuscript. "Have a passage ready taken for 'Merriker," whispers Mr. Pickwick's friend Weller to Sam. "Let the gov'ner stop there till Mrs. Bardell's dead . . . and then let him come back and write a book about the 'Merrikins as'll pay all his expenses, and more, if he blows 'em up enough." Evidently the painful animadversions had not ceased in 1837; they were perhaps generally mitigated after 1825. Captain Basil Hall in 1829, Fidler in 1833, Thomas Hamilton in 1833, Captain Marryat in 1839, and Thomas Brothers in 1840, keep up the unlucky strain, sometimes with more, and sometimes with less good humour. Brothers is of opinion that "there is in the United States more taxation, poverty, and general oppression than ever known in any other country." And in January, 1844, *The Foreign Quarterly* asserts that "As yet the American is horn-handed and pig-headed, hard, persevering, unscrupulous, carnivorous, . . . with an incredible genius for lying." Ere this, however, better sense was prevailing. Basil Hall, though preferring the manners of aristocratic England, was not unkindly, nor was Mrs. Trollope (1832) unsympathetic. Dickens himself, having followed the Ohio and the Mississippi to St. Louis, and having visited Looking-Glass Prairie, in 1842 published his *American Notes*, in which he "blows 'em up" with moderation. The courteous Sir Charles Lyell (1845) was unfortunately justified in a dislike of American boasting.

Meanwhile the Americans, sensitive as well as vainglorious or patriotic, on their part had not been idle, whether in the magazines or in books. *Niles' Weekly Register*, and *The North American Review*, with Edward Everett as editor, hurried to the defence, and Timothy Dwight, Irving, Fenimore Cooper, and Paulding were among those who, with or without finesse, parried the foreign thrusts. Robert Walsh wrote *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain respecting the United States* (1819), while John Neal of Portland carried the fight into the enemy's camp by contributing to *Blackwood's Magazine* from 1823 until 1826. After Dwight's death his *Travels* in New England and New York were published, four substantial volumes, representing vacation journeys which he had taken for reasons of health from 1796 on. They are full of exact information on every conceivable subject—on the prevailing winds, on the "excellencies of the colonists of New England," "their enterprise and industry, their love of science and learning, their love of liberty, their morality, their piety," on the superiority of soil and climate, etc. But the serious vein was not the only one for such a contest, as Paulding was aware when he wrote the anonymous *John Bull in America, or the New Munchausen* (1825), which for its time was effective as an allegorical satire upon English opinion in relation to travellers. It is now less amusing than the strictures that called it forth. But there is something trivial about the whole episode.

The best kind of reply to the taunt of Sydney Smith was the literary work of Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving, who are more fully treated elsewhere in this history.[1] Of Cooper's novels, three more important ones had been produced before he was entangled in the controversies that occupied much of his life. *The Pioneers* reflected his early experiences on the frontier; while *The Last of the Mohicans* deserves notice because it contains, in distinct types, both the idealized and the unidealized Indian that we have seen in the travellers. Chingachgook is a true descendant of Montaigne's high-minded savage, and belongs to the family of Rousseau's "natural" man; whereas the base "Mingoes" are more like real aborigines. *The Prairie*, with its large element of description, was followed during the author's residence abroad by *Notions of the Americans Picked up by a Travelling Bachelor* (1828), a series of letters by an imaginary Englishman, in which there is an attempt to rectify prevailing European and British misconceptions of America, and to show the Americans how to be more refined, and how to suppress their self-satisfaction. A middle course pleased neither English nor Americans; nor did the criticism in *Homeward Bound* and *Home as Found* tend to pacify Cooper's fellow-countrymen. The turmoil of his later years did not prevent him from writing two of his most popular novels, *The Pathfinder* and *The Deerslayer*, which again disclose his conception of the forest and frontier.

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[1] See also Book II, Chaps. IV and VI.

Few have depicted that life with more truth and spirit than Irving. From the noisy disputes between John Bull and Jonathan we come back to him as to a contemplative traveller of some previous generation; and in truth he carries on the tradition of Carver, and of Lewis and Clark. Returning in 1832, after an absence in Europe of seventeen years, Irving found his countrymen expecting him to vindicate his patriotism, and American letters, by some work on a native theme. Instead of directly yielding to the call, he made "a wide and varied tour," joining a Government expedition to the Arkansas River, exploring the hunting-grounds of the stealthy Pawnees, witnessing the pursuit of the buffalo, and sharing the spoils of bee-hunters. The result was *A Tour on the Prairies* (1835), which represents but a part of the journey. "It is," he says, "a simple narrative of every-day occurrences"; but it describes the motley life of the border with fidelity—Osage Indians, "stern and simple in garb and aspect," with "fine Roman countenances, and broad deep chests"; gaily dressed Creeks, "quite Oriental" in appearance; and "a sprinkling of trappers, hunters, half-breeds, creoles, negroes of every hue, and all that other rabble rout of nondescript beings that keep about the frontiers, between civilized and savage life, as those equivocal birds, the bats, hover about the confines of light and darkness." Irving's next task was to write the history of John Jacob Astor's development and consolidation of the fur-trade in the North-west (after the Lewis and Clark expedition), in *Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains*, which appeared in 1836. The literary method here employed is characteristic of so many books of travel, beginning with Carver's, that Irving may be allowed to explain it in his own words:

As the journals, on which I chiefly depended, had been kept by men of business, intent upon the main object of the enterprise, and but little versed in science, or curious about matters not immediately bearing upon their interests, and as they were written often in moments of fatigue or hurry, amid the inconveniences of wild encampments, they were often meagre in their details, furnishing hints to provoke rather than narratives to satisfy inquiry. I have, therefore, availed myself occasionally of collateral lights supplied by the published journals of other travellers who have visited the scenes described, such as Messrs. Lewis and Clark, Bradbury, Brackenridge, Long, Franchère, and Ross Cox, and make a general acknowledgment of aid received from these quarters.

The work I here present to the public, is necessarily of a rambling and somewhat disjointed nature, comprising various expeditions by land and sea. The facts, however, will prove to be linked and banded together by one grand scheme, devised and conducted by a master spirit; one set of characters, also, continues throughout, appearing occasionally, though sometimes at long intervals, and the whole enterprise winds up by a regular catastrophe; so that the work, without any laboured attempt at artificial construction, actually possesses much of that unity so much sought after in works of fiction, and considered so important to the interest of every history.

While engaged upon *Astoria*, Irving had met at the house of Colonel Astor the picturesque Captain Bonneville, and learning that the Captain possessed a manuscript record of his experiences among the Rocky Mountain hunters, he secured it for a goodly sum, thereupon proceeding to rewrite and amplify it in the customary fashion. From the popular *Adventures of Captain Bonneville* (1837), one gains an indescribable sense of the buoyancy of spirit in the open prairies, and of high tension in the life of the mountaineers, sanguine and alert in the midst of dangers known or surmised.

The general influence of these travellers and observers upon commerce and immigration is rather the affair of the historian and economist. Unquestionably the effect of innumerable guides for emigrants, and statistical works on agriculture, was augmented by books of travel which in substance were not always distinct from these humbler compilations. The trenchant if malevolent Cobbett, glorying in a life of cheerful industry close to the soil, and representing America as neither a paradise nor yet a den of thieves but a good nurse for the farmer, did much in the third decade of the last century to stimulate emigration of a better sort from the mother country to the land of free endeavour. Possession of the soil, and the opportunity to gain more and more of it—as depicted by Crèvecœur—must always act as a stimulus to the human mind. Once reaching these shores, a mobile population would be allured to the West through the virile descriptions of the Mississippi Valley by a Timothy Flint, or through the animated sketches of life and manners by a James Hall. To the literature of travel may also be ascribed much of the attraction exerted by this country upon distinguished foreigners in seasons of stress or misfortune. Napoleon himself once spoke of America as a possible retreat. If Crèvecœur's portrait of the free and social colonist was "embellished with rather too flattering circumstances," it was not the less true in presenting an ideal that the Americans have striven to realize; it was real in the sense that it governed their better thoughts and actions. By disengaging and projecting the ideal form of American life, such works interpreted the new republic for England and the Continent. More than this, they interpreted one part of the new nation to another. No other class of books can have done so much to consolidate the people; their effect upon character and imagination can hardly be overestimated.

They gave wings to the imagination; and here they are especially significant for the history of literature. As the discovery of America was accompanied by an outburst of poetry in the Renaissance, other causes, naturally, contributing thereto—as the mind of a Shakespeare was caught by a chance description of the "still-vexed Bermoothes"; so the great advances in geographical discovery and natural science after the middle of the eighteenth century made themselves felt in another generation of poets, and American travels found a quick response in works of literary art. The place of the travellers in the movement known as "the return to nature" would require for adequate treatment nothing short of a dissertation; nor could one always discriminate between the literary preconceptions which the observers brought with them and the ultimate facts about man and his environment which they transmitted to the poets. Yet we recognize in the reports of American travel something ultimate, as did the poets and philosophers.

Scattered instances suffice for illustration. In the speech *On Conciliation with America*, Burke, who himself had a share in an *Account of the European Settlements* (1757), betrays an acquaintance with more recent works of a similar kind. To one of Carver's borrowed passages on Indian funeral customs Schiller owes the substance of the *Nadowessiers Todtenlied*, a poem greatly admired by Goethe. Still better known is the employment of what is striking and exotic in Carver and Bartram by Chateaubriand in the composite landscape of *René* and *Atala*, and his mingling of conventional with imaginary incidents in the *Voyage en Amérique*.

In American and English poets, also, one may see the connection between higher forms of literature and books of travel. Freneau translates the *Travels* of the Abbé Robin (Philadelphia, 1783), and writes *Stanzas on the Emigration to America and Peopling the Western Country* (*Poems*, 1786). Timothy Dwight's "Most fruitful thy soil, most inviting thy clime," in *Columbia*, echoes the sentiment of his *Travels*. Longfellow derives the myth of Hiawatha from Schoolcraft, and is said to have used Sealsfield's *Life in the New World*, and Frémont's *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, in *Evangeline*. In Bryant, the allusion to

> the continuous woods
> Where rolls the Oregon

has been traced to Carver. *Thanatopsis*, the lines *To a Waterfowl*, and *The Prairies* alike reveal the spirit of inland discovery.

The relation of English poets to American observers is most significant of all. Coleridge praises Cartwright, Hearne, and Bartram; "the impression which Bartram had left on his mind," says his grandson, "was deep and lasting." Lamb is enamoured of pious John Woolman, and eventually favours Crèvecœur, yielding to Hazlitt's recommendation. Southey commends Dwight, and employs Bartram in *Madoc*. In *Mazeppa*, Byron, an inveterate reader of travels, takes the notion of an audible aurora borealis from Hearne. But the most striking instance is Wordsworth. Commonly supposed to have refrained from describing what he had not seen with the bodily eye, and to have read little save his own poetry, he was in fact a systematic student in the field of travel and observation, for the ends of poetical composition. Accordingly, he writes to Archdeacon Wrangham, perhaps in 1811: "You inquire about old books; you might almost as well have asked for my teeth as for any of mine. The only modern books that I read are those of travels, or such as relate to matters of fact—and the only modern books that I care for." What they meant to him may be seen in *Ruth*, which is full of images from Bartram—the magnolia, the cypress, green savannas, and scarlet flowers that set the hills on fire; in *The Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman*, based on Hearne; in the address to Hartley Coleridge, reminiscent of Carver; in Book Third of *The Prelude*, where the ideal environment for a university and its students is clearly that of Bartram's "Alatamaha" River, "where the generous and true sons of liberty securely dwell"; and in Book Third of *The Excursion*. Here the Solitary, a returned American traveller, first relates his dissatisfaction with the "unknit Republic," echoing Ashe, and English opinion in the year 1814, and then tells of his vain search for the natural man of Rousseau. He found little more to please him than "the Muckawiss," of Carver:

> So, westward, tow'rd the unviolated woods
> I bent my way; and, roaming far and wide,
> Failed not to greet the merry Mocking-bird;
> And, while the melancholy Muccawiss
> (The sportive bird's companion in the grove)
> Repeated o'er and o'er his plaintive cry,
> I sympathised at leisure with the sound;
> But that pure archetype of human greatness,
> I found him not. There, in his stead, appeared
> A creature, squalid, vengeful, and impure;
> Remorseless, and submissive to no law
> But superstitious fear, and abject sloth.

The Solitary is not Wordsworth, but a dramatically conceived malcontent. The animating note that is characteristic of American travel at its best was sounded, not by English poets in the time of George the Third, but forty years before the close of the French and Indian War in Berkeley's anticipatory lines *On the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America:*

> There shall be sung another golden age,
>   The rise of empire and of arts . . .
> Westward the course of empire takes it's way.

CHAPTER II

The Early Drama, 1756–1860

OUR native drama, even though it antedated the novel and the short story, has practically no history until the latter half of the eighteenth century. The first drama written in this country which is now in existence, the satirical farce, *Androborus*, was printed, it is true, in 1714. It was by Governor Richard Hunter[1] of New York, but as he was an Englishman, the interest in his work is limited to its representation of local conditions. *Androborus* was not acted, and had no influence in the development of an acting drama. The two forces which seem to have led to the production of a native play upon the stage were the indirect influence of the early performances of masques and of dramatic odes and dialogues at the colleges, and more directly, the acting of the first regular company of professional players.

The earliest college exercise, including original composition, that has survived, is Francis Hopkinson's revision of *The Masque of Alfred*, originally written by Thomson and revised by Mallet in 1751, which deals with the invasion of England by the Danes. It was performed, according to Hopkinson's statement,[2] several times during the Christmas holidays of 1756–7 in the College of Philadelphia.[3] Hopkinson's original lines number more than two hundred, besides a new prologue and epilogue, and new scenes are introduced so that the masque may be considered as in large measure original. What makes it of special interest is the fact that Thomas Godfrey, our first dramatist, who grew up under the tutelage of William Smith, Provost of the College, and who was a close friend of Hopkinson, was in all probability prompted to write by witnessing this and similar early attempts at dramatic composition.[1]

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[1] For a description of *Androborus*, see Ford, P. L., *The Beginnings of American Dramatic Literature* in *The New England Magazine*, Feb., 1894, New Series, vol. IX., No. 6, p. 674.

[2] See *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 20 and 27 Jan.; 3 and 10 Feb., 1757, for a detailed account of the Masque, giving Hopkinson's lines.

[3] Now the University of Pennsylvania.

Among these college exercises others that have survived are *An Exercise Containing a Dialogue and Ode Sacred to the Memory of his late Gracious Majesty, George II*, performed at the public commencement in the College of Philadelphia, 23 May, 1761, the dialogue being by the Rev. Dr. William Smith, the first Provost, and the ode by Francis Hopkinson. A similar exercise on the accession of George III was performed at the public commencement on 18 May, 1762. The epilogue on this occasion was by the Rev. Jacob Duché, Hopkinson's classmate and afterwards chaplain of Congress. A similar entertainment, *The Military Glory of Great Britain*, was performed at the commencement in the College of New Jersey,[2] 29 September, 1762, while there is evidence of dramatic interest at Harvard College if not dramatic authorship as early as 1758.[3]

Of more direct influence, however, on early dramatic writing, were the performances of plays by the company under David Douglass. There seem to have been theatrical performances in this country since 1703,[4] but the permanent establishment of professional acting dates from the arrival of Lewis Hallam and his company from England in 1752. This company acted in Philadelphia in 1754, where Godfrey doubtless saw them, and it was to this company after its reorganization under Douglass in 1758 that he offered his play, *The Prince of Parthia*, which he had finished before the end of 1759. It was not performed at this time, but was acted on 24 April, 1767, at the Southwark Theatre, in Philadelphia, according to an advertisement in

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[1] For Hopkinson, see also Book I, Chap. IX.

[2] Now Princeton University.

[3] Matthews, Albert, *Early Plays at Harvard*, *Nation*, vol. XCVIII, no. 2542, p. 295, 19 March, 1914.

[4] Sonneck, O. G., *Early Opera in America*, 1915, p. 7. See also, for the beginning of theatrical companies, Daly, Charles P., *When Was the Drama Introduced in America?* 1864, reprinted in *Dunlap Soc. Pub.*, Ser. 2, vol. I, 1896; Ford, P. L., *Washington and the Theatre*, *Dunlap Society Pub.*, Ser. 2, vol. VIII, 1899. For earlier performances by amateurs, see Bruce, P. A., *An Early Virginia Play*, *Nation*, vol. LXXXVIII, no. 2276, p. 136, 11 Feb., 1909, and Neidig, W. J., *The First Play in America*, *Nation*, vol. LXXXVIII, no. 2274, p. 86, 28 Jan., 1909.

The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser of 23 April, which contains a list of the players who were to take part. Godfrey did not live to see his play, but died in 1763, two years before it was published. This play, the first written by an American to be produced by a professional company, is a romantic tragedy, laid in Parthia about 200 B.C., and is written in blank verse of a flexible and dignified character. It is no unworthy beginning for American dramatic poetry, but it led at the time to no school of writing. It is interesting, however, to note that at a later period the most significant literary drama in this country was produced in the field of tragedy to which *The Prince of Parthia* belongs.

The Pre-Revolutionary period was purely a tentative one. The work of Charlotte Lenox, who was born here but whose plays were written and played in England, hardly concerns us, while such plays as *Ponteach*, by Major Robert Rogers (1766), or *The Disappointment* of Col. Thomas Forrest (1767), since they were not acted, fail to be significant, however tragic the recital of Indian wrongs in the former or however comic the hoax described in the latter may be. The *Conquest of Canada*, performed at the Southwark Theatre in Philadelphia, 17 February, 1773, has been sometimes referred to as "the second American play," but its author, George Cockings, was an Englishman, who wrote the play while in Boston, and it is in any case of little value either in matter or form.

On 20 October, 1774, the Continental Congress convened and passed a recommendation in its Articles of Association—that the colonists "discountenance and discourage all horse racing and all kinds of gaming, cock fighting, exhibitions of shows, plays and other expensive diversions and entertainments." Douglass and his "American Company," which had occupied the theatres in the colonies for almost a quarter century, left for the West Indies and the first period in the history of the American drama was closed.

During the Revolution a number of political satires were written, none of them, however, in strict dramatic form. The most important are *The Adulateur* (1773) and *The Group* (1775), by Mrs. Mercy Warren, of Boston, *The Fall of British Tyranny* (1776), by John Leacock, and the anonymous farce *The Blockheads* (1776), which has been attributed to Mrs.

Warren, but which internal evidence indicates is not by her. They paint the Tory officeholders and the British soldiers in very unflattering colours, but in no worse hues than the satirists on the loyalist side portray their enemies in such products as *The Americans Roused in a Cure for the Spleen* (1775?) or *The Battle of Brooklyn* (1776). There is no conclusive evidence that any of these were acted, though on the title page of *The Group* it is represented "as lately Acted, and to be Reacted, to the Wonder of all Superior Intelligences Nigh Head Quarters at Amboyne." The literary quality is not remarkable in any event, although Mrs. Warren at times writes a blank verse of considerable distinction, but their chief interest lies in their close relation to the great conflict they represent.[1]

The authority of Congress, except when ratified by action of the several states, did not extend beyond a recommendation to discontinue plays, but with the exception of a brief season in 1778 at the Southwark Theatre in Philadelphia, the activities of the Baltimore Company which began in 1781, and the later ventures of Ryan's Company in New York, the wishes of Congress were generally respected. With the coming of peace, the feeling against plays began to lessen. Lewis Hallam, the younger, returned to Philadelphia in 1784, and when he was coldly received there took to New York the reorganized American Company that was to be so closely associated with the history of the drama in that city. From the point of view of the production of dramatic writing, however, nothing is worthy of record until 1787.

In that year, dramatic performances were given by the American Company in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Annapolis. There was a more decided interest in things theatrical, but most important was the production in New York on 16 April, 1787, of *The Contrast* by Royall Tyler, the first American comedy to be produced by a professional company. As had been the case with Godfrey, the local company served as the inspiration for Tyler. The theme of the play is the contrast between simple native dignity as typified in Colonel Manly and imported foppery and follies represented by Dimple, Charlotte, and Letitia. The most important character, however, is that of Jonathan, the servant of Manly, who is the prototype of a long succession of stage Yankees. Tyler also wrote a comic opera in two acts, *May Day in Town or New York in an Uproar*, performed 18 May, 1787, in New York, and after his return to Boston produced a dramatic satire entitled *A Georgia Spec, or Land in the Moon*, aimed at the rage for speculating in the Georgia lands of the Yazoo Purchase. It was played in Boston and New York in 1797.[1]

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[1] For Mrs. Warren see also Book I, Chap. IX.

Important historically as Tyler was, this period is dominated by the personality of William Dunlap, whose first acted play, *The Father*, performed in New York on 7 September, 1789, was a comedy of manners inspired by the success of *The Contrast*. The success of this play and that of his drama *Leicester*, the second American tragedy, played first under the title of *The Fatal Deception*, on 24 April, 1794, inspired him to go on. According to his own statement he wrote fifty plays[2] "and other pieces unpublished," most of which were acted successfully. These include tragedy, comedy, melodrama, farce, opera, and interlude. He is especially significant as an adaptor of German and French plays, and it was through him that Kotzebue was introduced to the American stage. His first adaptation from Kotzebue, *The Stranger*, played on 10 December, 1798, was from an English version, but the success of this led him to study German, and he adapted and produced at least thirteen plays of Kotzebue, the most significant being *False Shame*, played in 1799, and *The Virgin of the Sun* and *Fraternal Discord*, both acted in 1800. He also adapted Zschokke's *Abaellino* in 1801 with great success, while his earlier adaptation of Schiller's *Don Carlos* in 1799 had been a failure. He did not neglect American themes, however, and one of his most popular plays, *André* (1798), afterwards rewritten as *The Glory of Columbia* (1803), represents the Revolutionary period. His career as manager of the American Company from 1796 to 1805 and the influence he had upon the development of the stage at that time make it fitting to close this period with the date at which financial difficulty forced him to shut his doors. He became connected with the theatre again from 1806 to 1811 and wrote even after that, but his later contribution was comparatively unimportant. This period is noteworthy also for the beginning of organized dramatic criticism in New York in the work of a group headed by Peter Irving and Charles Adams, who met after the play, wrote critiques in common, and secured their publication.

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[1] For Tyler, see also Book I, Chap. IX, and Book II, Chaps. III and VI.

[2] A complete bibliography of Dunlap records sixty-five plays. See Bibliography.

The next period begins naturally with the work of James N. Barker of Philadelphia and John Howard Payne of New York. Barker's first play, *Tears and Smiles*, was produced in 1807. This comedy continued the representation of contemporary manners started in *The Contrast* and reflected also the reproduction of recent events in the reference to the Tripoli pirates. In his dramatization of historical American life in *The Indian Princess* (1808), probably the first dramatic version of the Pocahontas story, and *Superstition* (1824), whose motif was the witchcraft delusion in New England, Barker represents the American playwright working with native material. Even in *Marmion* (1812) he put in King James's mouth a ringing speech which, while seeming to apply to Scottish conditions, actually reflected the feeling of America toward England in 1812. *Marmion* was played as late as 1848. Payne, unlike Barker, represents foreign influence. From 1806 when his *Julia, or The Wanderer*, was acted in New York, his dramatic work consisted largely of adaptation from English, French, and German sources. His complete bibliography[1] records sixty-four plays, of which nineteen were published. His most significant work was done in the field of tragedy, such as his *Brutus*, first played in London in 1818, or in comedy like *Charles II*, first performed in London in 1824, while the bulk of his work is composed of melodrama or farce. It was in his opera of *Clari* (1823) that the song *Home Sweet Home* was first sung. Payne's achievement can hardly be properly rated until it is ascertained how much of his work is original, and so far as his treatment of native material goes, he is not so significant as lesser dramatists such as M. M. Noah, who made a brave attempt to dramatize American history in *She Would Be a Soldier* (1819) and *Marion* (1821). *She Would Be a Soldier* was based on the battle of Chippewa in 1812. It proved popular; Forrest acted the Indian Chief in 1826, and it was repeated as late as 1848.

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[1] See Bibliography.

There are several reasons why the year 1825 forms a convenient point of departure in the development of the drama. Up to about 1822, largely through the excellence of the company at the Chestnut Street Theatre where Jefferson, Warren, and Wood formed a triumvirate in comedy, Philadelphia had been the theatrical metropolis.[1] Then the growing importance of the port of New York brought an increasing number of foreign actors to that city and made it important for an actor to begin his career there. The year 1825–6, according to Ireland,[2] was remarkable in the history of the New York stage, since it witnessed the first attempt to establish Italian opera with a fully organized company, the beginning of Hackett's career as a comedian, and the combination of Placide, Hilson, Barnes, and Miss Kelly in comedy at the Park Theatre. Most important, this year marked the real beginning of Edwin Forrest's career, both in Philadelphia and in New York.

The very prominence of New York and its proximity to Europe, however much they added to its theatrical prestige, hindered the development of the drama. The succession of English actors who were brought over as "stars" resulted in little encouragement to native writers, while in Philadelphia, under the encouragement of Edwin Forrest and others, a group of dramatists arose whose work became widely known both at home and abroad. For the year 1829–30 Durang lists nine plays by American writers, among them *Pocahontas* by George Washington Custis and John Kerr's first draft of *Rip Van Winkle.*

In 1829 Forrest produced the Indian play of *Metamora* by John Augustus Stone, an actor who lived during his creative period in Philadelphia. The play was a bit bombastic and the speeches of Metamora show a curious mixture of Indian and Ossian, but they are at times very effective and some of the phrases of this play became bywords in the mouths of the people.

Forrest also inspired Robert Montgomery Bird of Philadelphia to write *The Gladiator* in 1831. It was played by Forrest in all parts of the Union and at Drury Lane in 1836. In this play Dr. Bird combined the principal sources of dramatic interest—self-preservation, love of wife, child, and brother, desire for freedom, and personal loyalty—in one central character, expressed this combination of qualities and sentiments in a vigorous personality, especially suited for Forrest, and clothed the sentiments expressed in a dignified and flexible blank verse, varied at times by prose. Bird's tragedy of Peru, *Oralloossa* (1832), but more especially his *Broker of Bogota* (1834), both produced by Forrest, are among the most significant of American dramas. The character of Febro in *The Broker of Bogota*, energetic, with a middle-class mind but courageous and with a passion for his children, is admirably conceived. Bird was also known as a novelist, and one of his romances, *Nick of the Woods*, dramatized by Louisa Medina in 1838, proved to be one of the most successful melodramas of the time. His *Infidel* was dramatized by Benjamin H. Brewster and played in Philadelphia in 1835, and *The Hawks of Hawk Hollow* was put on the stage in 1841.[1]

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[1] See Durang, C., *History of the Philadelphia Stage*, Second Series, Chap. III, and Wemyss, F. C., *Twenty-Six Years of the Life of an Actor-Manager*, vol. I, p. 74.

[2] Ireland, *Records of the New York Stage*, vol. I, p. 483.

Bird's fellow-citizen, Richard Penn Smith, while not so great a dramatist, is significant on account of his laudable attempts to treat native material. At least fifteen of his plays were performed, eleven of which have been preserved in print or in manuscript. Of his tragedy *Caius Marius*, in which Forrest starred, we have only tradition and one scene. His national plays, *The Eighth of January*, celebrating Jackson's victory at New Orleans, *William Penn*, his drama of colonial and Indian life, both played in 1829, and *The Triumph at Plattsburg* (1830), concerned with McDonough's victory on Lake Champlain, are vigorous plays and were well received.

Although Robert T. Conrad's historical play of *Jack Cade*, first acted in Philadelphia in 1835, was not written originally for Forrest, it was through his acting that it received its best interpretation. This play was a worthy rival of Bird's dramas for favour here and abroad. It has a deeper significance than appears at first glance, for it was made a vehicle for the expression of democratic ideals, and this strengthened its hold on the American people.

The most significant of this group of Philadelphia dramatists was George Henry Boker. His first play, *Calaynos*, is a tragedy based on the hatred of the Spaniards for the Moors. Previous to its performance in Philadelphia in 1851, it had a long run at the Sadlers Wells Theatre in London in 1849, where Samuel Phelps played Calaynos and G. K. Dickenson, Oliver.[1] His second tragedy, *Leonor de Guzman*, produced in 1853, was also laid in Spain and is concerned with the revenge of the injured Queen, Maria of Portugal. His comedy *The Betrothal*,[2] produced successfully in Philadelphia and New York in 1850, and played in England in 1853, is laid in Italy. With the exception of *Under a Mask*, a prose comedy, performed in Philadelphia in 1851, all of Boker's acted plays are of a distinguished quality. His masterpiece, however, was his tragedy *Francesca da Rimini*, first acted by E. L. Davenport in 1855 in New York and Philadelphia, and revived by Lawrence Barrett in 1882 and by Mr. Otis Skinner in 1901. The art with which the medieval Italian life is depicted, the music of the verse and the noble conception of Lanciotto, the wronged husband and brother, lift this tragedy to its deserved place in the first rank of verse dramas written in the English language during the nineteenth century.

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[1] See also Book II, Chap. VII.

It is not to be supposed that dramatic talent was limited to Philadelphia. Epes Sargent and Julia Ward Howe in Boston, Nathaniel Parker Willis of Boston and New York, Charlotte Barnes Conner and Anna Ogden Mowatt of New York, and George H. Miles of Baltimore, to mention only a few, wrote plays that were definite contributions to literature as well as practically adapted for the stage. From this point it becomes necessary, however, owing to the wealth of material and the imposed limits of the chapter, to treat the plays from the point of view of types of the drama, rather than as the work of individuals, and this is also most productive of results. Examination of printed plays before 1860, combined with search through the histories of the stage, discloses about seven hundred plays by American writers actually placed upon the boards. These figures are obviously incomplete,[3] but they show at least the wide activity of our early playwrights notwithstanding the difficulties under which they laboured, and to which one of them so vigorously refers.[1]

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[1] *Calaynos*, Lond. ed., n.d., p. 8.

[2] The facts given here and in the Bibliography are based upon the manuscripts of Boker, in the possession of his family.

[3] The histories of Dunlap, Durang, Wood, Ireland, Brown, Seilhammer, Clapp, Wemyss, and the MSS. diary of Wood have been carefully examined in preparation of these figures, but inaccuracies, confusions of titles of acted and printed plays, difficulty of deciding in all cases as to the nationality of the playwright, etc., make the statements only relatively exact.

Of greatest distinction as literature are the tragedies. About eighty of these were performed, forty of which are extant, and they belong usually to the type known as romantic tragedy. In many cases there is an additional historical interest. Among those dealing with ancient history the most significant are Payne's *Brutus* (1818), Bird's *Gladiator* (1831), David Paul Brown's *Sertorius, the Roman Patriot*, acted by the elder Booth in 1830, and *Waldimar* by John J. Bailey, produced by Charles Kean in 1831 and based on the massacre at Thessalonica in the fourth century A.D. Dunlap's *Leicester* (1794), Barker's *Marmion* (1812), and Conrad's *Jack Cade* (1835) are the best of the dozen dealing with English history, while the historical interest is also definite in such tragedies as John Burk's *Female Patriotism or The Death of Joan D'Arc* (1798), Dunlap's *Virgin of the Sun* (1800), Mrs. Ellet's *Teresa Contarini* (1835), a Venetian tragedy, Epes Sargent's *Velasco*, laid in Burgos in 1046, and acted by E. L. Davenport in 1837, and *Bianca Visconti*, by Nathaniel Parker Willis, based on the career of Francesco Sforza. This play won the prize competition offered by Josephine Clifton, who produced it in 1837 in the principal cities of this country. It held the stage as late as 1852. George H. Miles's prize play of *Mohammed*, performed in 1851, and *Leonor de Guzman* and *Francesca da Rimini* of Boker belong also to this group. Even in the historical tragedies, however, it is the unhappy lot of the main character and the interest of the unfamiliar that hold the attention rather than the background, and there is no clear line to be drawn between those which are historical and those which are not. To the latter class belong Bird's *Broker of Bogota*, and a tragedy of peculiar interest, *Octavia Brigaldi*, by Mrs. Conner, in which she acted in the title rôle in 1837. The play was repeated often in this country and was successfully produced in London. It was based on the killing, in 1828, by Colonel Beauchamp of Kentucky, of Colonel Sharpe, who had seduced Beauchamp's wife before their marriage.[2] Mrs. Conner transferred the scene to Milan at the close of the fifteenth century. This preference for foreign scenes, especially in Spain or Italy, remains one of the significant features of this type of play. There has been a tendency to criticize these playwrights for failing to confine themselves to national themes, which in view of the existence of *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Othello* seems beside the point. But there is nothing so satisfactory in a review of our early drama as the steady progress in romantic tragedy from *The Prince of Parthia* in 1767 to *Francesca da Rimini* in 1855.

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[1] See "Letter from the Author" in *Moll Pitcher*, by Joseph S. Jones (1855).

[2] Trent, W. P., *William Gilmore Simms*, 1892, p. 117. W. G. Simms wrote

Little criticism, indeed, may be levelled at the quantity of the plays based upon native themes, historical or contemporary. Disregarding mere pantomime, theatrical history down to 1860 records performances of nearly two hundred plays with a national background, of which some forty are available for examination. First in point of time come the Indian dramas, of which the most important are Stone's *Metamora*, Bird's *Oralloossa*, and the series of plays dealing with the Pocahontas theme. The best of these are *The Indian Princess* by Barker (1808), *Pocahontas or The Settlers of Virginia* by George Washington Custis, first played in Philadelphia, 16 January, 1830, *Pocahontas*, by Robert Dale Owen, acted first 8 February, 1838, in New York, with Charlotte Cushman as Rolfe, and *The Forest Princess*, by Charlotte Barnes Conner, acted in Philadelphia, 16 February, 1848. They all emphasize the love story of Rolfe and Pocahontas and make John Smith a central character. Mrs. Conner alone takes Pocahontas to England, where she dies. Of the colonial dramas, Barker's *Superstition* (1824) and R. P. Smith's *William Penn* (1829) seem the most significant.

As was natural, the Revolution was the most appealing theme. Practically every great event from the Boston Tea Party to the Battle of Yorktown was dramatized. The treason of Arnold and André's capture was a favourite theme and it is to our credit that André usually is a heroic figure.[1] Marion and Franklin were also favourites, but everyone else runs a bad second to Washington so far as the stage is concerned. One of

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two novels, *Beauchampe* (1842) and *Charlemont* (1856), upon this event, and C. F. Hoffman his *Greyslaer* (1840). *Beauchampe* was dramatized in 1856 by John Savage under the title of *Sybil*, which was frequently played.

[1] See Matthews, Brander, Int. to his reprint of *André* in *Dunlap Soc. Pub.*, Ser. 1, No. 4, 1887.

the most interesting scenes occurs in *Blanche of Brandywine* (1858) by J. G. Burnett, in which Howe deliberately puts himself in Washington's power in order, apparently, to offer him a dukedom. After refusing in terms which are refreshingly human, considering the usual vocabulary allotted to the Father of his Country in literature, Washington calmly lets his antagonist depart in peace. Patriotism must have covered a multitude of sins in this class of drama, for it otherwise is difficult to explain the success of John Burk's *Bunker Hill* (1797), hard to recognize as the work of the author of *Joan D'Arc*. Dunlap's *Glory of Columbia* is not bad, and such a play as *Love in '76* (1857) by Oliver Bunce must have given a good opportunity for a clever actress.

Leaving the Revolution, we find the troubles with the Barbary States celebrated in eight plays, beginning with Mrs. Rowson's *Slaves in Algiers* (1794), which is made a vehicle to express abolition sentiments in general. The War of 1812 was reflected in such popular plays as *She Would Be a Soldier* of Noah (1819), and R. P. Smith's *The Eighth of January* (1829), and *The Triumph at Plattsburg* (1830). As an illustration of the quick reflection of events upon the stage we find a statement in Durang[1] that on 8 December, 1812, there came news of the capture of the *Macedonian* by the *United States* and that on 11 December a patriotic sketch entitled *The Return from a Cruise* was performed at the Chestnut Street Theatre, in Philadelphia, including a part for Captain Decatur. Almost as prompt had been the dramatization of the victory of the *Constitution* over the *Guerrière*. The fight occurred on 31 August, 1812. On 9 September, William Dunlap's *Yankee Chronology* was played in New York, while on 28 September, the opening night, a play was on the stage in both Boston and Philadelphia. Clapp tells us[2] that "in the early days of the theatre, every public event of sufficient importance was immediately dramatized, and during the progress of the war, the spirit was kept up by the frequent production of pieces in honour of our naval victories."

The Mexican War furnished its quota of plays, none, however, of special significance. Nor was the ready appeal to the stage limited to martial themes. We find the Anti-Masonic agitation represented in such a play as *Captain Morgan or The Conspiracy Unveiled* (1827), while toward the close of our period the adventures of Walker in Nicaragua, the Mormon emigration, and the California gold fever find dramatic expression. Most important, of course, was the great question of abolition, reflected in the run of G. L. Aiken's version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which was first acted at the Museum in Troy, New York, in September, 1852, and after long runs there and elsewhere was performed almost nightly in New York City from 18 July, 1853, to 19 April, 1854. Though it was not the first[1] stage version it distanced all others as to popularity. It follows the book quite closely in its language but is melodramatic in the extreme and is really a succession of scenes rather than a play. The same criticism may be applied to Mrs. Savage's *Osawattomie Brown*, which placed on the stage of the Bowery Theatre on 16 December, 1859, a dramatic account of the raid of 1 November.

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[1] Durang, First Series, Chap. XLIX.

[2] Clapp, W. W., Jr., *Records of the Boston Stage*, 1853, p. 134.

The line is not easy to draw between these patriotic spectacles, dealing with events that have now become historic, and the comedies which reflected contemporary manners and customs. Both tend to become melodrama, and it would be fruitless to classify rigidly the large number of melodramatic comedies that are recorded as having had their day on the stage. Among plays of which record of performance has been kept, about four hundred in number, the largest group would be that of comedy, and it was from this group that the most significant plays from the point of view of stage development evolved.

In our first comedy, *The Contrast*, Tyler developed the stage Yankee in Jonathan, and though J. Robinson's *Yorker's Stratagem* (1792) and Barker's *Tears and Smiles* (1807) contain Yankee characters, it was not till *The Forest Rose*, by Samuel Woodworth, was placed on the stage in 1825 that a Yankee character was developed which permanently held the boards. The part of Jonathan Plowboy was played afterward by Henry Placide, G. H. Hill, Joshua Silsbee, and others. In the preface[2] to the play it is stated that Silsbee played Jonathan for over one hundred consecutive nights in London. The comedy, which was accompanied by songs, is an interesting one, the action is quick and the conversation clever. In 1829 J. H. Hackett transformed the character of Solomon Gundy in Colman's *Who Wants a Guinea?* into Solomon Swop and, re-christening the play *Jonathan in England*, made a great success in it. Other well-known Yankee parts were Lot Sap Sago in *Yankee Land* (1834) and Deuteronomy Dutiful in *The Vermont Wool Dealer* (1839), both written by C. A. Logan, Jedediah Homebred in *The Green Mountain Boy* (1833) and Solon Shingle in *The People's Lawyer* (1839), both by Joseph S. Jones, and Sy Saco in John A. Stone's prize play of *The Knight of the Golden Fleece* (1834). These plays are usually of the same type, a comedy or melodrama into which a Yankee comic character has been inserted. He bears little relation to the play, but it is this very detachment that makes him important, for he is the one spot of reality among a number of stage conventions, and it is no doubt this flavour of earth that secured the warm reception which these plays received. Read now, they seem hardly to justify it, but they point forward at least to a time when in the hands of an artist like James A. Herne this same material received a more significant treatment.

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[1] See Brown, T. A., *History of the New York Stage*, 1903, vol. I, pp. 312–319, for an interesting account of the different dramatizations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

[2] Woodworth, S., *The Forest Rose*, Boston, 1854. For Woodworth, see also Book II, Chaps. v and vi.

Another interesting development is represented in the local drama representing actual conditions, frequently of lower life, in the larger cities. The date of the first production of such a play would be hard to determine. Dunlap[1] speaks of a *Life in New York, or The Fireman on Duty*, before 1832. As early as 1829 Hackett appeared in a play called *The Times or Life in New York*, in which he acted a Yankee character. From the cast, however, as given in Ireland[2] it seems hardly likely that there was much realism in this play, however interesting it is as a point of connection with the species just described. More promising is the description of *The New York Merchant and His Clerks*, performed in 1843, with scenery "representing the Battery, Wall St., Chatham Square and the Lunatic Asylum." These plays, however, have not survived, but there can be little doubt that when F. J. Chanfrau made his great success in *A Glance at New York* in 1848, the public had been prepared to enjoy the type of play he furnished. The story of the building of this play is an interesting one. It was written by Benjamin A. Baker, the prompter at the Olympic Theatre, who when Mitchell, the manager, had refused to produce it, insisted on its production at his own benefit and had the satisfaction of witnessing the tumultuous reception that Chanfrau received in the part of Mose, the New York fireman. Chanfrau had made a number of imitations of firemen before on the stage, and the play was, therefore, a growth. It is melodramatic, but there is a reality about the scenes in the dives and streets that points forward rather than backward. Baker continued in *New York as It Is* (1848) to exploit Mose, and the interest in that form of play was capitalized immediately by other writers and actors. *Philadelphia as It Is* appeared in 1849, and in Boston George Campbell produced in 1848 a local drama in which a scene in a police court was introduced.[1]

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[1] Dunlap, *History of the American Theatre*, London, 1833, vol. II, p. 381.

[2] Ireland, vol. I, p. 624.

The vogue of these plays continued to the end of our period and beyond, and there is little distinction, so far as type is concerned, to be made between them and such a later play as Augustin Daly's *Under the Gaslight*. Such titles as *The Dry Goods Clerk of New York* (1851), *The Seamstress of New York* (1851), *New York by Gaslight* (1856), *The Poor of New York* (1857), *Life in Brooklyn, its Lights and Shades, its Virtues and Vices* (1858) illustrate the nature of the species perhaps sufficiently, while *Mose in California* (1849) and *Mose in China* (1850) show how cosmopolitan that gentleman became.

Much more important from the artistic standpoint were the comedies proceeding by means of social satire. Here, too, we turn back to our first comedy, *The Contrast*, for the beginning of the type, but while we note in 1841 the production of a "cutting satire upon fashionable life"[2] in the comedy of *Saratoga Springs*, which was very successful, it was not until the production of *Fashion* by Anna Ogden Mowatt on 24 March, 1845, at the Park Theatre in New York that we can chronicle a social satire of any distinction. *Fashion* is a good-humoured satire upon the artificial qualities of society in New York, and introduces the snob who is taken in by a French barber, the merchant ruined by his wife's extravagance, the confidential clerk who blackmails his employer, and as contrasts to these,

[1] Clapp, p. 457.

[2] Ireland, vol. II, p. 378.

the true-hearted farmer and his granddaughter who, by her efforts to save the daughter of the self-seeking social striver, almost loses her own lover. These are all types, to be sure, but they are made alive and the dialogue is clever. The play had a great success here and abroad,[1] and may be said to have founded a school of playwriting which lasts to this day. Its immediate successors, however, hardly came up to the standard set by *Fashion*. One of the best of them, *Nature's Nobleman*, produced in New York in 1851, was written by Henry O. Pardey, an English actor, who laid his scenes in Saratoga, Cape May, and a farm in New York State, and established quite well a contrast between American and English types. Mrs. Bateman's *Self*, E. G. Wilkins's *Young New York*, Cornelius Mathews's *False Pretences; or, Both Sides of Good Society*, all played in 1856, become caricature of a descending quality. Perhaps the most clever of the later comedies of social life is *Americans in Paris* by W. H. Hurlbert, performed in 1858.

In romantic comedy, there was very little that could compare with the achievement in romantic tragedy. *The Deformed*, played in 1830, by Richard Penn Smith, has some real merit, though it owes much to Dekker. *Tortesa, the Usurer*, by N. P. Willis, was played by J. W. Wallack in 1839 in New York and later in England, where Lester Wallack played Angelo to his father's Tortesa. It is an excellent play, and the last act, in which the usurer rises to the dignity of self-sacrifice, is especially appealing. Another play in which the two Wallacks were associated, *The Veteran* (1859), written by Lester Wallack, is an entertaining comedy laid in France and Algeria. Boker's *Betrothal* has already been mentioned. Mrs. Mowatt's *Armand, or The Child of the People*, produced in 1847 in New York and in 1849 in London, is a blank verse comedy of some merit. But here again the line between comedy and melodrama is hard to draw. Especially is this true in the plays dealing with Irish life, of which there are a number. One of the most interesting records in this connection is that describing the production, in 1842, after the playwright's death, of the adaptation of the novel of *The Collegians* by Louisa Medina. This play has not survived, but the cast[1] of characters is significant in view of the later dramatization of the same material in Dion Boucicault's *Colleen Bawn.*

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[1] For an interesting contemporary critique of *Fashion*, see Poe's *Works*, Virginia Edition, vol. XII, pp. 112–121 and 124–129.

The Gothic melodrama, illustrated by Dunlap's *Fontainville Abbey*, played in 1795, or his *Abaellino*, performed in 1801, was popular and in it he had a number of followers, some of whom, like S. B. Judah, in his *Rose of Aragon*, played in 1822, preserved the original meaning of the word Gothic. More interesting, if not more artistic, was the melodrama that dealt with contemporary events, such as Woodworth's *Lafayette or The Castle of Olmutz*, played in 1824, the year of Lafayette's visit to this country. Dunlap's importation of the domestic drama of Kotzebue had also its effect. Some of the dramas of this class, notably Noah's *Wandering Boys*, played first in Charleston in 1812 under the title of *Paul and Alexis*, were vastly popular. Most important in this class was the genesis of *Rip Van Winkle.* As early as 26 May, 1828, Thomas Flynn seems to have played a version of *Rip Van Winkle* in Albany. It was written by an native of Albany.[2] In October, 1829, there was produced in Philadelphia[3] a version written in whole or part by John Kerr, in which W. Chapman and later J. H. Hackett played Rip Van Winkle and "J. Jefferson" played Knickerbocker. This version was very popular and was afterward played in New York. A later play by Charles Burke is an adaptation of this one, with certain changes, notably the preservation of Dame Van Winkle, and the final version of Boucicault and Joseph Jefferson the younger is a development in its turn from Burke's play.

The farce as a species of comedy in the broader sense has already been spoken of in connection with the treatment of certain comic themes. Payne developed a form of farce largely from foreign sources, and W. E. Burton, by the development of farcical characters like the Toodles out of material whose history goes back to sentimental domestic drama, scored one of his greatest popular successes.

The dramatization of American novels calls for a word of comment here. The work of Cooper, W. G. Simms, J. P. Kennedy, C. F. Hoffman, R. M. Bird, T. S. Fay, Mrs. Stowe, and others, was quickly placed on the stage. It will be noticed that it was chiefly in the sphere of the romance that this was the case, Cooper being the prime favourite. Though this work was rarely done by a dramatist of distinction, it was often popular.

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[1] Ireland, vol. II, p. 393.

[2] Phelps, H. S., *Players of a Century*, Albany, 1880.

[3] Durang, Second Series, Chap. L.

What impresses one most in a survey of these types of drama is the evidence of organic growth. It is possible to trace in the development of the drama in this country before the Civil War certain fairly distinct periods. The first ends with the closing of the theatres in 1774 and has as its principal event the production of *The Prince of Parthia* in 1767. The second, from 1774 to 1787, includes the Revolutionary satirists and is a transition period. The third begins with the production of *The Contrast* in 1787 and closes with the termination of Dunlap's first period of managership in 1805. It was a period of tentative effort, partly under the influence of German and French models. The fourth period from 1805 to 1825 is one of development, with considerable native effort, but still largely under foreign influence, both English and Continental. The fifth was a significant and creative period, from 1825 to the Civil War, with its climax in *Francesca da Rimini* in 1855.

This development was interrupted naturally by the Civil War. What would have been its course had the war not occurred it is perhaps fruitless to speculate. There were signs of a quickening of dramatic interest in the late fifties under the encouragement of such managers as Lester Wallack and Laura Keene, but the domination of the stage by Dion Boucicault and John Brougham, while it resulted in some significant plays, especially in a later period, was not an unmixed blessing from the point of view of the production of American drama. The dramatization of English and French novels with resultant long runs, indeed the very success of Boucicault's original dramas, made for conditions in which the work of new playwrights became less in demand. The old days in which a manager was willing to put on a play for a few nights were going fast, and with them went our early drama. That its significance in the history of our literature has never been appreciated is due largely perhaps to the fact that some of its most important monuments are still unprinted. But of its significance both in itself and for the later drama there is no shadow of doubt.

CHAPTER III

Early Essayists

IN anticipating Dr. Johnson's advice to fashion his prose style on the model of Addison, Franklin anticipated also the practice of American essay-writers for more than a generation. Like Franklin's *Dogood Papers*, the first essays printed in colonial newspapers were written with a conscious moral purpose. With some spice of wit Timothy Dwight and John Trumbull collaborated in an imitation of *The Spectator* in 1769–70, and between 1785 and 1800 nearly a hundred series of light periodical essays were contributed to various New England journals.[1] Those of the better sort like the "Neighbour" of *The Massachusetts Spy* or the "Metabasist" in *The Farmer's Journal* of Danbury, Connecticut, when not discussing politics, filled their columns with grave moralizing or racy satire on manners. They were widely copied and recopied by other papers, and a few such as Noah Webster's *Prompter* and Mrs. Judith Murray's *Gleaner* attained the distinction of separate publication by reason either of their plain common sense or their studied correctness. In general, the imitation of English models resulted in feeble literary replicas, or in strange patchworks of Yankee homespun with Addisonian finery.

During the first decade of the nineteenth century nearly every literary device and favourite character in the long line of British essayists was reproduced in this country. Isaac Bickerstaff owned an American cousin in Launcelot Langstaff of *Salmagundi*, memories of *l'Espion turc* were evoked by Wirt's *Letters of a British Spy*, and Goldsmith's Lien Chi Altangi dropped a small corner of his mantle on Irving's Mustapha Rub-a-Dub Kheli Khan and S. L. Knapp's Shahcoolen. The shade of Johnson dictated the titles of *The Traveller*, *The Rural*

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[1] Ellis, H. M., *Joseph Dennie and his Circle*, p. 51.

Wanderer, *The Saunterer*, and *The Loiterer*, and such editorial pseudonyms as Jonathan Oldstyle, Oliver Oldschool, and John Oldbug were significant of the attempt to catch the literary tone of the previous age. But the essay of manners, a product of leisurely urban life, was not easily adapted to the environment of a sparsely settled, bustling young republic. "Perhaps, indeed," wrote the Rev. David Graham of Pittsburg, "it is impossible to give interest and standing popularity, to a periodical essay paper, constructed upon the model of the British Essayist, in an infant country."[1] Even in the populous cities "where the inhabitants amount to several thousand" there was little interest in the art of living. Reprehensible luxury and eccentric characters were hard to discover. But by dint of persistent attempts the essay of manners was made to grow in the new soil.

Perhaps the most successful "American Addison" was Joseph Dennie (1768–1812), who was "reasonably tinged with literature" while resisting a Harvard education, and after a short trial of the law, devoted his desultory talents to periodical writing until his death. He kindled the first sparks of a reputation by the *Farrago* essays, contributed to various country newspapers, but his *Tablet*, a hopeful weekly paper devoted to *belles lettres*, failed to set Boston ablaze. Yankee readers objected to his exercises in the manner of Goldsmith and Addison as "sprightly rather than moral." While a law-student, Dennie had supplemented his income by reading sermons in unsupplied churches, and now to gain a hearing he fitted each of his lucubrations with a text and tempered his sentiments ostensibly for the pulpit. *The Lay Preacher*, commenced in 1795, won immediate applause. Seven years later John Davis, the traveller, declared it the most widely read work in America, and its popularity contributed largely to the author's success as editor, first of *The Farmer's Weekly Museum* at Walpole, New Hampshire, and finally of that notable literary gazette, the Philadelphia *Port Folio*.

Though Dennie collaborated with his friend Royall Tyler in a mélange of light prose and verse "From the Shop of Messrs. Colon & Spondee," which later developed into a series of "Author's Evenings" reminiscent of men and books, his scattered writings were never collected or even completely identified, and his reputation must rest almost entirely upon *The Lay Preacher.* In these papers he sometimes dallied with a trifling subject, or to the indignation of severe critics applied a sacred text to the discussion of Mrs. Radcliffe's romances, or gave free rein to his eccentric humour in denouncing French innovations. But in the main he preserved a solemn front, dimming his wit with sobriety, as in the following extract from "Watchman, what of the night?"

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[1] *The Pioneer, consisting of Essays, Literary, Moral and Theological*, Pittsburg, 1812. P. 31.

> Duty, as well as inclination, urges the Lay Preacher to sermonize, while others slumber. To read numerous volumes in the morning, and to observe various characters at noon, will leave but little time, except the night, to digest the one or speculate upon the other. The night, therefore, is often dedicated to composition, and while the light of the paly planets discovers at his desk the Preacher, more wan than they, he may be heard repeating emphatically with Dr. Young,
>
> "Darkness has much Divinity for me."
>
> He is then alone, he is then at peace. No companions near, but the silent volumes on his shelf, no noise abroad, but the click of the village clock, or the bark of the village dog. The Deacon has then smoked his sixth, and *last* pipe, and asks not a question more, concerning Josephus, or the Church. Stillness aids study, and the sermon proceeds.[1]

In reality, however, Dennie was as fond of conviviality as Steele, and as elegant in dress as Goldsmith. His literary pose had little in common with his actual habits of composition, as described by a former printer's devil of *The Farmer's Museum:*

> One of the best of his Lay Sermons was written at the village tavern, directly opposite to the office, in a chamber where he and his friends were amusing themselves with cards. It was delivered to me by piece-meal, at four or five different times. If he happened to be engaged in a game, when I applied for copy, he would ask some one to play his hand for him, while he could "give the devil his due." When I called for the closing paragraph of the sermon, he said, "Call again in five minutes." "No," said Tyler, "I'll write

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[1] *The Lay Preacher* (1796), p. 103.

the improvement for you." He accordingly wrote the concluding paragraph, and Dennie never saw it till it was in print.[1]

No trace of the "nights of mirth and mind" that he shared with "Anacreon" Moore, none of the ready puns that Irving learned to dread, can be found in the pious columns of *The Lay Preacher*. The wonder is, not that Dennie should be forgotten, but that, writing so evidently against the grain, he should have achieved his extraordinary vogue.

Among many young lawyers who found time to use their pens while waiting for briefs, Dennie is historically important as one of the first to adopt literature as a profession. Others who continued to write as an avocation were easily allured into religious or political controversy, for the renown of the *Federalist* papers was yet new. So Royall Tyler, author of several plays[2] and a series of periodical observations entitled *Trash*, besides a waggish account of Dennie's first appearance at the bar, became more a chief justice and less a man of letters after the publication of his novel, *The Algerine Captive*, in 1797.[3] David Everett, now barely remembered as the author of

> You'd scarce expect one of my age
> To speak in public on the stage,

wrote essays called *Common Sense in Dishabille* for *The Farmer's Museum*, but his inclination for *belles lettres* soon yielded to a maturer passion for writing political leaders and commentaries on the Apocalypse. Only the hardiest political writings could survive the frost of piety in New England.

Literary essays in the South were almost neglected in the general enthusiasm for forensic and pulpit oratory, or when written, reflected the formal style of public speeches. The most persistent essayist was William Wirt (1772–1834), who commenced lawyer with "a copy of Blackstone, two volumes of Don Quixote, and a volume of Tristram Shandy," gave sufficient attention to the first item of his library to become Attorney-General of the United States, and left as his chief literary monument a biography of Patrick Henry. *The Letters of a British Spy*, first printed in the Richmond *Argus* for 1803, justly gained him a reputation as a critic and master of eloquence.[1] A temperateness, discernment, and sincerity unusual in the journalism of the day marked his observations on Virginia society and his strictures on the style of public men, and his descriptive powers, best illustrated in the striking picture of the Blind Preacher, elevated the *Spy* at once into the class of "elegant native classical literature." Later in conjunction with friends Wirt wrote ten essays, collected as *The Rainbow*, dealing with sundry political and social questions. These, like *The Old Bachelor*, in which he set himself to follow more closely the admired model of Addison, were too thickly studded with florid passages, oratorical climaxes, and didactic fulminations. Wirt's natural charm of manner survived only in his playful private letters.[2] Nothing of permanent mark came from the facile pen of William Crafts, editor of the Charleston *Courier*, and the ornate prose of Hugh Swinton Legaré is that of the scholar rather than of the familiar essayist.

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[1] J. T. Buckingham, *Specimens of Newspaper Literature* (1852), vol. II, p. 197.

[2] See also Book II, Chap. II.

[3] See also Book II, Chap. VI.

New York and Philadelphia were comparatively free from the blight of theology and the bane of eloquence, though the latter city seems to have suffered from a constitutional profundity which even Dennie could not entirely overcome. It gave to the world nothing better than the *Didactics* of Robert Walsh. The commercial interests of Manhattan could claim little attention from young men of wit and spirit, but leisure and a society both cosmopolitan and congenial afforded them ample opportunity and provocation for literary *jeux d'esprit*. When the busy savant, Samuel Latham Mitchill, presided at the Sour Krout crowned with cabbage leaves or burlesqued his own erudition in jovial speeches at the Turtle Club, what wonder if Irving and the "lads of Kilkenny" found time to "riot at Dyde's on imperial champagne" or to sally out to Kemble's mansion on the Passaic—the original of Cockloft Hall—for a night of high fun and jollification. Dr. Mitchill's *Picture of New York*, with a wealth of geological and antiquarian lore travestied in the first part of the "Knickerbocker" *History*, records the numerous landmarks and traditions of the city. Corlaer's Hook was then something more than a memory, Hell Gate was still a menace to navigation, the Collect was not all filled up, and the tolls levied at Kissing Bridge formed a standing jest. In such an environment the tradition of Steele and Goldsmith culminated not unworthily with *Salmagundi*, a buoyant series of papers ridiculing the follies of 1807. Thereafter imitation of Addison could no further go. Moreover, in announcing with mock gravity their intention "simply to instruct the young, reform the old, correct the town, and castigate the age" the authors of *Salmagundi* exposed the prevailing overearnestness of the grim guardians of public virtue and taught their readers to expect entertainment as well as instruction from writers of the essay.

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[1] An imitation called "The British Spy in Boston" appeared in *The Port Folio* for 3–24, Nov., and 22 Dec., 1804. An amusing parody of these followed on 26 Jan., 1805.

[2] See also Book II, Chaps. I and XVII.

James Kirke Paulding (1779–1860), Washington Irving's chief assistant in this youthful venture, shared with his collaborator a love of English letters, a vivid recollection of the New York of their boyhood, and a keen eye for odd whim-whams and curiosities of character. So closely akin were they in spirit that to identify completely the contributions of either writer would be a hopeless task, but the papers known to have been written wholly or in large measure by Paulding indicate that his part in the undertaking was not inferior to Irving's. Nor was Paulding less a master of a graceful and vivacious style, formed by his boyish reading of *The Citizen of the World*. It was he who first sketched the characters of the Cockloft family, and in the case of "Mine Uncle John" he took the likeness of a real uncle as deftly as Irving portrayed the lively Mrs. Cooper in Sophie Sparkle or the fastidious Joseph Dennie in Launcelot Langstaff. Aunt Charity, who "died of a Frenchman," was apparently a joint production. The two writers might have acquired from Steele and his successors the art of drawing crotchety characters, if not the fondness for detecting them, but the inevitable urban setting of the British essays afforded few models for such studies of nature as the "Autumnal Reflections" of the seventeenth *Salmagundi* paper. There Paulding—who undoubtedly had a hand in it—discovered a happy talent for combining gentle melancholy with landscape description which remained one of the most attractive elements in his varied writings. Almost the only quotable passages in his pretentious poem, *The Back-*

woodsman,[1] have to do with wild and romantic scenery, and when in 1819 he revived the name, though not the sparkle of *Salmagundi*, the serious admonitory air of his continuation was sometimes freshened by vignettes of the Hudson valley or the frontier. After the second series of "Old Sal," Paulding wrote few essays except the unremarkable *Odds and Ends* contributed in his old age to *The Literary World*, but in his *Letters from the South*, in his tales and novels,[2] and even in his prose satires he found opportunities to manifest his delight in American scenes. Unlike Irving, he never travelled, and the beauties of his native land remained in his eyes unrivalled.

While the author of *Bracebridge Hall* and the *Alhambra* was cultivating his cosmopolitan fancy in many lands, Paulding grew more and more intensely local. In accepting the cares of a family and of official position—he was eventually Secretary of the Navy under Van Buren—he lessened his opportunities to develop his literary talent, and at the same time increased his desire to exalt the glory of American letters. Unusually sensitive to the faults of his fellow-countrymen, he too often went out of his way to rail at primogeniture, lotteries, French fashions, paper money, and the charities of "those venerable married ladies, and thrice venerable spinsters, who go about our cities like roaring lions, doing good." When in such works as in *Merry Tales of the Three Wise Men of Gotham* (1826), and the *New Mirror for Travellers* (1828), he undertook to quiz political or fashionable failings, his irony was not infrequently more severe than just. The same objection may be applied with double force to the acrimonious squibs which he hurled at British critics who dared sneer at American innovations.[3] Like many of his contemporaries Paulding could not refrain from using his stylus as a dagger whenever patriotically aroused, and he lost no opportunity to flaunt the merits of republican institutions before the "crowned heads" of Europe. He may best be remembered as an author whose faults and virtues combined to make him exclusively and eminently national.

Salmagundi was but one of a number of hopeful productions issued by two or three young men in combination or even by literary clubs after the traditional fashion of periodical essays.

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[1] See also Book II, Chap. V.

[2] See also Book II, Chap. VII.

[3] See also Book II, Chap. I.

In 1818–19 a Baltimore society, which claimed Wirt as a member, printed a fortnightly leaflet called *The Red Book*, containing, besides verse, occasional papers by the future novelist, John Pendleton Kennedy.[1] William Tudor, one of the Monthly Anthology Club of Boston, and first editor of *The North American Review*, collected his *Miscellanies* in 1821, and in that and the following year a more original member of the same coterie, the elder Richard Henry Dana,[2] edited and mainly wrote the six numbers of *The Idle Man*, perhaps the most notable competitor of Irving's *Sketch Book*. Much of Dana's work may be paralleled elsewhere; the half-Shandean meditation on a suitable title for his periodical, the sketches of Ned Fillagree and Bob Brazen and of the whimsical old gentleman and his club, the eulogy of Kean's acting, and the plea for a more confident and independent criticism of American books—though this last does not lack vehemence—are not essentially different from such stuff as essays were usually composed of. But the papers on "Domestic Life" and the "Musings" on the power of the imagination redeem their triteness of subject by a noble sincerity and depth of poetic insight not unworthy of a prose Wordsworth. Three numbers of *The Idle Man* are taken up by tales of gloomy intensity which fall within the compass of this chapter only as they illustrate the ease with which the periodical essay might merge with the then unrecognized short story. Not a few contributions in the *Miscellanies* of Verplanck, Bryant, and Sands (originally published as *The Talisman* for 1828, 1829, 1830) were made of a descriptive or didactic essay prefixed to a simple tale, and the gleanings from numerous annuals included by the publisher, S. G. Goodrich, in *Sketches from a Student's Window* (1841), can hardly be classed except as an indistinguishable compound of essays and stories. In none of these cases are the narratives apologues or character sketches of the sort traditionally associated with the periodical essay.

Dana, though he continued to live in Cambridge, was intimately connected with Bryant and his set. *The Idle Man* was printed in New York, and it was there, naturally enough, that the vein opened by Irving and Paulding in *Salmagundi* was most consistently followed by writers of the Knickerbocker group, many of them contributors at one time or another to

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[1] See also Book II, Chap. VII.

[2] See also Book II, Chap. V.

Colonel Morris's *New York Mirror*. From that paper Theodore Sedgwick Fay, better known as the author of successful but mediocre novels, clipped enough of his occasional writings to fill two volumes entitled *Dreams and Reveries of a Quiet Man* (1832). Save for the lively satire of the *Little Genius* essays and a delicious travesty of Mrs. Trollope, there is little of other than historical interest in Fay's pictures of New York life. Distinctly in better form are the *Crayon Sketches* by William Cox, an English printer once in the employ of *The Mirror*. In his fondness for the theatre, his devotion to Scott, and his love of old English scenes and customs, Cox had much in common with Irving. Here too should be mentioned the editors, Park Benjamin of *The American Monthly Magazine* and *Brother Jonathan*, poet and miscellaneous writer; Lewis Gaylord Clark of *The Knickerbocker Magazine;* and his twin brother, Willis Gaylord Clark, a Philadelphia journalist whose "Ollapodiana" papers inherited something of Lamb and anticipated something of Holmes.[1]

Flashes of cleverness, geniality, and quiet humour, however, could not conceal the lack of originality and barrenness of invention that were becoming more and more apparent among the remoter satellites of Geoffrey Crayon. The stream of discursive literature was indeed running dry when Nathaniel Parker Willis (1806–61) burst into prominence like a spring freshet, frothy, shallow, temporary, but sweeping all before it. This prince of magazinists, precociously celebrated as a poet even before his graduation from Yale in 1823, and petted by society in this country and abroad, has suffered the fate of other ten days' wonders. Though the evanescent sparkle and glancing brilliance of his *A l'Abri*, less extravagantly known by its later title of *Letters from under a Bridge*, fully deserved Lowell's praise, though it is possible to understand the popularity of his vivid, vivacious glimpses of European society in *Pencillings by the Way* and the vogue of his clever "Slingsby" stories in *Inklings of Adventure*, yet it cannot be denied that Willis too often merited the charges of affectation and mawkishness which we still instinctively associate with the elaborately gilded backs of his many volumes. Unluckily he wrote himself out just at the time when his necessities compelled him to have continuous recourse to his pen for a livelihood. His later books sound like a parody of his true manner. It is unnecessary, therefore, to dwell upon the reasons for the decline of his immense reputation; they are obvious.

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[1] See also Book II, Chap. xx.

Nor is it needful to distinguish the paste from the genuine in the composition of the man himself; to defend him from the charge of puppyism by insisting upon his kindliness to younger authors. All that concerns us here is to indicate in what ways Willis inaugurated a temporary but essential phase in the development of the essay and indeed of American letters. The time had come to break with the smooth, dry, elegant style. Willis's romantic and sentimental ardour influenced more than his choice of subject; it dictated his whole manner. He was the most formless of writers. His eclectic, tentative genius readily expressed itself, and often with great charm, in amorphous informal blends of essay, letter, and story. Fleeting impressions, "dashes at life," ephemera, "hurry-graphs" were his forte. In an established form like the novel he was never successful. Striving to be original at all costs, he first embellished, then later mutilated the English language, sticking it full of foreign phrases, coined words, and oddities of diction culled from all times and localities. If these things seem intolerable when compared to the sure classic perfection of Irving's style, we must remember that fluidity is essential to the innovator. Willis followed no tradition, good or bad. That with no guide but his own not infallible taste he should have reached at his best an easy, supple grace of manner, never for a moment tedious, is an evidence of uncommon powers, and even his weaknesses, his not infrequent soft spots, show that at least he was independent of the methods of eighteenth-century prose.

In this respect Willis has been compared to Leigh Hunt, whom in several ways he certainly resembled, but he was not, like Hunt, an omnivorous reader. The social sense was stronger in him than literary instinct; the merits of his best work are the merits of lively chat. During his European wanderings he learned more from men than from books, and from women most of all. His Diotima was Lady Blessington, whose literary dinners and *soirées* were duly, in *The New York Mirror*, dashed at by his free pencil. At Gore House he heard gossip of Byron, saw D'Israeli in action, and met Rogers, Procter, Moore, and Bulwer, men of letters and men of the world. After such models Willis shaped his own career. He luxuriated in drawing-rooms and shone at dinners,

> The topmost bright bubble on the wave of The Town.

With his rapid glances into the kaleidoscope of society he combined—for his readers—views of famous places, anecdotes of travel, reflections by the way, descriptions of scenery, and observations on customs and characters, in all a delightfully varied mixture and exactly suited to his tastes and abilities. In America he wrote with the same minuteness and freshness of his rural life and rural neighbours at Glenmary and Idlewild, painted vivid word-pictures of such beauty spots as Nahant or Trenton Falls, or sketched fashionable life at Ballston and Saratoga in the days when those watering places were in their first glory. There where woods and streams were enlivened by flowered waistcoats, pink champagne, and the tinkle of serenades, Willis found a setting for some of his most characteristic writing. Jaunty and impermanent as the society it portrayed, his pages yet contain the most valuable deposit left by what Professor Beers has happily called the "Albuminous Age" of American literature.[1]

A more reserved, though hardly less voluminous writer than Willis, was the critic, biographer, and essayist, Henry Theodore Tuckerman, born in Boston in 1813 and from 1845 until his death in 1871 a resident of New York. As a young man he twice spent a year or two abroad, of which the fruits were an *Italian Sketch Book* in 1835 and several other volumes of travel. Meanwhile he had been reading widely, studying art, and meeting authors and painters. These things combined with a native fineness of temperament to preserve him from falling into the verbal excesses of Willis. Whatever else Tuckerman lacked, he was not wanting in good taste.

As a critic Tuckerman earned the praise of Irving for his "liberal, generous, catholic spirit." The solid merits of his *Thoughts on the Poets* were admired in Germany, where the work was translated. But more popular in this country were *Characteristics of Literature* and *Essays, Biographical and Critical*, which illustrate various types of genius by little biographies of representative men. Addison, for instance, appeared—with no reference to Dennie—as the Lay Preacher. Many introductions, magazine articles on literature, and two books on American artists gave evidence of Tuckerman's critical versatility.

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[1] Professor H. A. Beers has in every respect said the last word on Willis in his *Life* (*American Men of Letters*) and Introduction to *Selected Prose* (1885).

His cosmopolitan training is equally apparent in his familiar essays. *The Optimist* (1850) was nearly akin to the miscellaneous reflections sometimes imbedded in his early books of travel. It was followed by *The Criterion*, more appropriately known in England as *The Collector*, in 1866. Antiquarian in spirit, fond of mingling bits of book-lore with personal reminiscence, Tuckerman picks his meditative and discriminating way along the byways of literature and life. Authors, Pictures, Inns, Sepulchres, Holidays, Bridges, equally provoke his ready flow of illustrative anecdote and well-chosen quotation. With Longfellow and others, he did much to familiarize the American public with a wide range of literature. His cosmopolitanism, however, though of considerable service to his contemporaries, prevented him from interpreting the America that he knew to other countries or to after times. His pleasantly pedantic essays are no longer either novel or informing. Lowell and Whipple have left him scarcely a corner of his chosen field.

CHAPTER IV

Irving

WASHINGTON IRVING was born in William Street, New York City, 3 April, 1783. As this was the year in which the colonies finally achieved the independence for which they had been fighting for seven years, Irving may be regarded as the first author produced in the new republic.

The writer recalls that he visited Sunnyside with his father a year or two before the death of Irving and heard him narrate, doubtless not for the first time, how, when he was a youngster a year old, his nurse had held him up in her arms while Washington was passing by on horseback, in order that the General might place his hand on the head of the child who bore his name. "My nurse told me afterwards," said Irving, "that the General lifted me in his arms up to the pommel of his saddle and bestowed upon me a formal blessing." The listening boy looked, with reverential awe, at the head that had been touched by the first president, but when later he told his father about Irving's words, the father said: "You did not see the spot that Washington touched." "And why not?" was the natural question. "You goose," came the retort, "do you not know that Mr. Irving wears a wig?"

Washington Irving was prevented by poor health from following his two elder brothers to Columbia College. His formal training was limited to a course of a few years in the public schools of the day. He had always, however, encouraged in himself a taste for reading and an interest in human affairs so that his education went on steadily from year to year. His father, a Scotchman by birth, had built up an importing business and ranked well among the leading merchants of the city. The family comprised in all five sons and two daughters. The relations to each other of these brothers and sisters were always closely sympathetic, and throughout the record of Irving's career the reader is impressed with the loyal service rendered, first, by the elder brothers to the younger, and later, when the family property had disappeared and the earnings of the youngster had become the mainstay of the family, by Washington himself to his seniors, and to his nieces.

In 1804, Irving, who had just attained his majority, made his first journey to Europe. His father had died some years earlier, and the direction of the family affairs was in the hands of the eldest brother William. The trip seems to have re-established Washington's health, which had been a cause of anxiety to his brothers. After a voyage of forty-two days he landed in Bordeaux, whence he journeyed to Paris. He then travelled by way of Marseilles to Genoa, from which point he went by stage-coach through some of the picturesque regions in Italy. It was on these trips that he secured his first impressions of the Italian hill country and of the life of the country folk, impressions that were utilized later in the *Tales of a Traveller*. From Naples, crossing to Palermo, he went by stage to Messina, and he was there in 1805 when the vessels of Nelson passed through the straits in their search for the combined French and Spanish fleet under Villeneuve, a search which culminated in the great victory at Trafalgar.

Journeying in Europe during those years of war and of national upheaval was a dangerous matter. Irving was stopped more than once, and on one occasion was arrested at some place in France on the charge of being an English spy. He seems to have borne the troublesome interruptions with a full measure of equanimity, and he used each delay to good purpose as an opportunity for a more leisurely study of the environment and of the persons with whom he came into touch. He returned to New York early in 1806, shortly after Europe had been shaken by the battle of Austerlitz.[1]

Irving was admitted to the bar in November, 1806, having previously served as attorney's clerk, first with Brockholst Livingston and later with Josiah Ogden Hoffman. The law failed, however, to exercise for him any fascination, and his practice did not become important. He had the opportunity of being associated as a junior with the counsel who had charge of the defence of Aaron Burr in the famous trial held in Richmond in June, 1807. The writer remembers the twinkle in the old gentleman's eye when he said in reply to some question about his legal experiences, "I was one of the counsel for Burr, and Burr was acquitted." In letters written from Richmond at the time, he was frank enough, however, to admit that he had not been called upon for any important service. During Irving's brief professional association with Hoffman, he was accepted as an intimate in the Hoffman family circle, and it was Hoffman's daughter Matilda who was the heroine in the only romance of the author's life. He became engaged to Matilda when he was barely of age, but the betrothal lasted only a few months, as she died suddenly at the age of seventeen. At the time of Irving's death it was found that he was still wearing on his breast a locket containing her miniature and a lock of hair that had been given to him half a century before.

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[1] During these journeys he took notes, wrote them out in a full journal, portions of which are shortly to be published, and utilized his material in elaborate letters to his relations.

The first literary undertaking to which Irving's pen was devoted, apart from a few ephemeral sketches for one of the daily papers, was a serial publication issued at irregular intervals during 1807–08, under the title of *Salmagundi*. In this work, Irving had the collaboration of his brother William and his friend James K. Paulding.[1] The *Salmagundi* papers, reissued later in book form, possess, in addition to their interest as humorous literature, historical value as pictures of social life in New York during the first decade of the nineteenth century.

The famous *History of New-York* was published in 1809. The mystery surrounding the disappearance of old Diedrich Knickerbocker, to whom was assigned the authorship, was preserved for a number of months. The first announcement of the book stated that the manuscript had been found by the landlord of the Columbian Hotel in New York among the effects of a departed lodger, and had been sold to the printer in order to offset the lodger's indebtedness. Before the manuscript was disposed of, Seth Handaside, the landlord, inserted in New York and Philadelphia papers an advertisement describing

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[1] See also Book II, Chaps. I, III, V, VII.

Mr. Knickerbocker and asking for information about him. When acknowledgment of the authorship of the book was finally made by Irving, it was difficult for his fellow New Yorkers to believe that this unsuccessful young lawyer and attractive "man about town" could have produced a work giving evidence of such maturity and literary power. He had secured an excellent position in New York society, a society which in the earlier years of the century was still largely made up of the old Dutch families. In the "veracious chronicle" of Mr. Knickerbocker free use was made of the names of these historic families, and it is related that not a few of the young author's Dutch friends found it difficult to accord forgiveness for the liberty that had been taken with their honourable ancestors in making them the heroes of such rollicking episodes.

After a brief editorial experience in charge of a Philadelphia magazine called the *Analectic*, to which he contributed some essays later included in *The Sketch Book*, Irving enjoyed for a few months the excitement of military service. He was appointed a colonel on the staff of Governor Tompkins, and during the campaign of 1814 was charged with responsibilities in connection with the defence of the northern line of New York.

In 1810, Irving had been taken into partnership with his two brothers, Peter and Ebenezer, who were carrying on business as general merchants and importers; and on the declaration of peace in 1814 he was sent by his firm to serve as its representative in Liverpool. If the business plans of that year had proved successful, it is possible that Irving might for the rest of his life have remained absorbed in commercial undertakings, but in 1818 the firm was overtaken by disaster and the young lawyer-merchant (never much of a lawyer and by no means important as a merchant) found himself adrift in England with small funds and with no assured occupation or prospects. He had already come into friendly relations with a number of the leading authors of the day, a group which included Scott, Moore, Southey, and Jeffrey. Scott had in fact sought him out very promptly, having years earlier been fascinated by the originality and the humour shown in *The History of New-York*.

After a couple of years of desultory travelling and writing, Irving completed a series of papers which were published in

New York in 1819–20 and in London in 1820, under the title of *The Sketch Book*. It is by this volume that he is today best known among readers on both sides of the Atlantic. The book has been translated into almost every European tongue, and for many years it served, and still serves, in France, in Germany, and in Italy as a model of English style and as a text-book from which students are taught their English. In this latter rôle, it took, to a considerable extent, the place of *The Spectator*.

The publication by Murray of *The Sketch Book*, and two years later of *Bracebridge Hall*, brought Irving at once into repute in literary circles not only in Great Britain, but on the Continent. In 1826, after a year or two chiefly spent in travelling in France, Germany, and Italy, he was appointed by Alexander Everett, at that time Minister to Spain, attaché to the Legation at Madrid, and this first sojourn in Spain had an important influence in shaping the direction of Irving's future literary work. In July, 1827, he brought to completion his biography of Columbus, later followed by the account of the *Companions of Columbus* (1831). The *Columbus* was published in London and in Philadelphia in 1828 and secured at once cordial and general appreciation. Southey wrote from London: "This work places Irving in the front rank of modern biographers"; and Edward Everett said that "through the Columbus, Irving is securing the position of founder of the American school of polite learning." Irving continued absorbed and fascinated with the examination of the Spanish chronicles. He made long sojourns in Granada, living for a great part of the time within the precincts of the Alhambra, and later he spent a year or more in Seville. He occupied himself collecting material for the completion of *The Conquest of Granada*, published in 1829, and for the *Legends of the Alhambra*, published in 1832.

In 1828, Irving declined an offer of one hundred guineas to write an article for *The Quarterly Review*, of which his friend Murray was the publisher, on the ground, as he wrote, "that the Review [then under the editorship of Gifford] has been so persistently hostile to our country that I cannot draw a pen in its service." This episode may count as a fair rejoinder to certain of the home critics who were then accusing Irving (as half a century later Lowell was, in like manner, accused) of having become so much absorbed in his English sympathies as to have lost his patriotism.

In 1829, Irving was made a member of the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, and having in the same year been appointed Secretary of Legation by Louis McLane, he again took up his residence in London. Here, in 1830, the Royal Society of Literature voted to him as a recognition of his "service to history and to literature" one of its gold medals. The other medal of that year was given to Hallam for his *History of the Middle Ages*. A little later Oxford honoured Irving with the degree of Doctor of Laws. The ceremony of the installation was a serious experience for a man of his shy and retiring habits. As he sat in the Senate Hall, the students saluted him with cries of "Here comes old Knickerbocker," "How about Ichabod Crane?" "Has Rip Van Winkle waked up yet?" and "Who discovered Columbus?"

In 1832, Irving returned to New York, having been absent from his country for seventeen years. His fellow citizens welcomed him, not a little to his own discomfiture, with a banquet given in the City Hall, where the orator of the evening addressed him as the "Dutch Herodotus." Later in the year, he made a journey through the territory of the Southwest, an account of which he published under the title of *A Tour on the Prairies* (1835). His description of St. Louis as a frontier post and of the great wilderness extending to the west of the Mississippi still makes interesting reading. Returning from his journey by way of New Orleans, he visited Columbia, South Carolina, where he was the guest of Governor Hamilton. The Governor, who had just transmitted to the legislature the edict of nullification, insisted that the author must repeat his visit to the state. "Certainly," responded the guest, "I will come with the first troops."

In 1834, Irving declined a Democratic nomination for Congress, and in 1838 he put to one side the Tammany nomination for mayor of New York and also an offer from President Van Buren to make him Secretary of the Navy. In 1842, he accepted from President Tyler the appointment of Minister to Spain. The suggestion had come to the President from Daniel Webster, at that time Secretary of State. The succeeding five years were in large part devoted to the collection of material relating to the history and the legends of Spain during the Moorish occupation.

On his return to New York in 1846, he met with a serious disappointment. His books were out of print, at least in the United States, and his Philadelphia publishers assured him that, as there was no longer any public demand for his writings, it would be an unprofitable venture to put new editions upon the market. They explained that the public taste had changed, and that a new style of authorship was now in vogue. The books had in fact been out of print since 1845, but at that time Irving, still absent in Spain, had concluded that the plan for revised editions might await his return. To be told now by publishers of experience that *The Sketch Book*, *Knickerbocker*, *Columbus*, and the other books, notwithstanding their original prestige, had had their day and were not wanted by the new generation, was a serious shock to Irving not only on the ground of the blow to his confidence in himself as an author, but because his savings were inconsiderable, and he needed the continued income that he had hoped to secure from his pen.

His personal wants were few, but he had always used his resources generously among his large circle of relatives, and having neither wife nor child he had made a home at Sunnyside for an aged brother Ebenezer, and at one time for no less than five nieces. Some western land investments, which in later years became profitable, were at this time liabilities instead of resources, and his immediate financial prospects were discouraging. He had taken a desk in the office of his brother John Treat Irving, and to John he now spoke, possibly half jestingly, of the necessity of resuming the practice of the law. He was at this time sixty-five years of age, and as it was forty years since he had touched a law book, it is hardly likely that he could have made himself of much value as a counsellor.

One morning early in 1848, he came into the office in a joyful frame of mind. He tossed a letter over to his brother saying: "John, here is a fool of a publisher willing to give me $2000 a year to go on scribbling." The "fool of a publisher" was the late George P. Putnam, who had recently returned from London where he had for eight years been engaged in the attempt to induce the English public to buy American books. Mr. Putnam now proposed to issue a uniform revised edition of all of Irving's writings, with which should be associated the books that he might later bring to completion, and to pay to the author a royalty on each copy sold, guaranteeing against such royalty for a term of three years a sum increasing with each year. It may be mentioned as evidence of the accuracy of the publisher's judgment that the payments during the years in which this guaranty continued were always substantially in excess of the amounts contracted for.

In 1849, the London publisher Bohn began to print unauthorized editions of the various books of Irving. A series of litigations ensued, as a result of which the authorized publishers, Murray and Bentley, discouraged with a long fight and with the great expense incurred in securing protection under the existing copyright regulations, accepted the offer of the pirate for the use, at a purely nominal price, of their publishing rights, and Irving's works came thus to be included in Bohn's Library Series. Copyright in Great Britain, as in the United States, was in 1850 in a very unsatisfactory condition, and it was not easy to ascertain from the provisions of the British statute just what rights could be maintained by alien authors. So far as American authors were concerned, this uncertainty continued until, through the enactment of the statute of 1891, an international copyright relation was secured.

As one result of the transfer to Bohn of the control of the English editions of Irving's earlier volumes, the author found that he could not depend upon any material English receipts for his later works. For the right to publish the English edition of the *Life of Washington* (a work comprised in five volumes) Bentley paid the sum of £50, which was a sad reduction from the £3000 that Murray had given him for the *Columbus*.

In December, 1852, Irving wrote to his American publisher a letter of thanks, which is notable as an expression both of the sense of fairness and of the modest nature of the man. That this expression of friendship was not a mere empty courtesy, he had opportunity of making clear a few years later. In 1857, partly because of the mismanagement of his financial partner and partly because of the general financial disasters of the year, Mr. Putnam was compelled to make an assignment of his business. Irving received propositions from a number of other publishers for the transfer of his books, the commercial value of which was now fully appreciated. From some of these propositions he could have secured more satisfactory returns than were coming to him under the existing arrangement. He declined them all, however, writing to his publisher to the effect that as long as a Putnam remained in the publishing business, he proposed to retain for his books the Putnam imprint. He purchased from the assignee the plates and the publishing agreements; he held these plates for a year or more until Mr. Putnam was in a position to resume the control of the publication, and he then restored them to his publisher. He waived the larger proceeds to which, as the owner of the plates, he would have been entitled, and insisted that the old publishing arrangement should be resumed. Such an episode is interesting in the long and somewhat troubled history of the relations of authors with publishers, and it may be considered equally creditable to both parties.

The final, and in some respects the greatest of Irving's productions, the *Life of Washington*, was completed on his seventy-sixth birthday, 1859, and a month or two later he had the pleasure of holding in his hands the printed volume. His death came on 29 November, of the same year, and he was laid to rest in the beautiful little graveyard of the Sleepy Hollow Church. The writer has in his memory a picture of the great weather-beaten walls of the quaint little church with the background of forest trees and the surroundings of the moss-covered graves. Beyond on the roadside could be seen the grey walls of the mill, in front of which Ichabod Crane had clattered past, pursued by the headless horseman. The roadside and the neighbouring fields were crowded with vehicles, large and small, which had gathered from all parts of the countryside. It was evident from the words and from the faces of those that had come together that the man whose life was closed had not only made for himself a place in the literature of the world, but had been accepted as a personal friend by the neighbours of his home.

Washington Irving occupied an exceptional position among the literary workers of his country. It was his good fortune to begin his writing at a time when the patriotic sentiment of the nation was taking shape, and when the citizens were giving their thoughts to the constructive work that was being done by their selected leaders in framing the foundations of the new state. It was given to Irving to make clear to his countrymen that Americans were competent not merely to organize a state, but to produce literature. He was himself a clear-headed and devoted patriot, but he was able to free himself from the local feeling of antagonism toward the ancient enemy Great Britain, and from the prejudice against other nations, always based upon ignorance, that is so often confused with patriotism. Irving's early memories and his early reading had to do with the events and with the productions of colonial days. Addison and Goldsmith are the two English writers with whose works his productions, or at least those relating to English subjects, have been most frequently compared. His biography of Goldsmith shows the keenest personal sympathy with the sweetness of nature and the literary ideals of his subject. Irving's works came, therefore, to be a connecting link between the literature of England (or the English-inspired literature of the colonies) and the literary creations that were entitled to the name American, and they expressed the character, the method of thought, the ideals, and the aspiration of English folk on this side of the Atlantic.

The greatest intellectual accomplishment to be credited to New York during the first years of the republic was the production of *The Federalist*. It is fair to claim, however, that with Irving and with those writers immediately associated with his work during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, began the real literature of the country. Partly by temperament and by character, and partly, of course, as a result of the opportunities that came to him after a close personal knowledge of England, with a large understanding of things Continental, Irving, while in his convictions a sturdy American, became in his sympathies a cosmopolitan. His first noteworthy production, *The History of New-York*, is so distinctive in its imagination and humour that it is difficult to class. It is purely local in the sense that the characters and the allusions all have to do with the Dutch occupation of Manhattan Island and the Hudson River region, but, as was evidenced by the cordial appreciation given to the book on the other side of the Atlantic, the humour of Mr. Knickerbocker was accepted as a contribution to the literature of the world.

In the production of *The Sketch Book*, Irving was able not only to enhance his fame by a charming contribution to literature, but to render a special service to two countries, England and America. The book came into print at a time when the bitterness of the war which closed in 1814 was still fresh in the minds of both contestants. It was a time when it was the fashion in America to use Great Britain as a bugaboo, as a synonym for all that was to be abominated in political theories and in political action. The word "British" was associated in the minds of most Americans with an attempt at domination, while in England, on the other hand, references to the little Yankee nation were no more friendly, and things American were persistently decried and sneered at.[1]

It was of enormous value that at such a period, first in the list of patriotic Americans who through sympathetic knowledge of England have come to serve as connecting links between the two countries, Irving should have been a resident in England and should have absorbed so thoroughly the spirit of the best that there was in English life. It was in part because men honoured in Great Britain, writers like Scott, Southey, Rogers, Roscoe, Moore, men of affairs like Richard Bentley, John Murray, and many others, came not only to respect, but to have affectionate regard for, the American author, and it was in part because the books written by this man showed such sympathetic appreciation of things and of men English, that England was brought to a better understanding of the possibilities of America. If there could come from the States a man recognized as one of nature's gentlemen, and to be accepted as a companion of the best in the land, a man whose writings on things English won the highest approval of the most authoritative critics, it was evident that there were possibilities in this new English-speaking state. If one American could secure friendships in Great Britain, if one American could make a noteworthy contribution to the literature of the English tongue, the way was thrown open to other Americans to strengthen and widen the ties and the relations between the two countries. An American critic who might have been tempted to criticize some of the papers in *The Sketch Book* as unduly English in their sympathies and as indicating a surrender by the author of his American principles, was estopped from any such folly by the fact that the same volume contained those immortal legends of the Hudson, *Rip Van Winkle* and *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow.* In these stories, poems in prose, the author utilized, as the pathway and inspiration for his imagination, the great river of which he was so fond. If Irving's descriptions of rural England were to give fresh interest to American readers in the old home of their forefathers, the skill with which he had utilized the traditional legends of the Catskill Mountains and had woven fanciful stories along the roadway of Sleepy Hollow made clear to readers on the other side of the Atlantic that imagination and literary style were not restricted to Europe.

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[1] See also Book II, Chap. I.

The work begun in *The Sketch Book* was continued in *Bracebridge Hall.* Here also we have that combination (possibly paralleled in no other work of literature) of things English and things American. Squire Bracebridge is, of course, a lineal descendant of Sir Roger de Coverley. It is not necessary, however, because Irving was keenly sympathetic with Addison's mode of thought, to speak of Irving's hero as an imitation. England has produced more than one squire, and Bracebridge and the family of the Hall were the creations of the American observer. The English home of the early nineteenth century is presented in a picture that is none the less artistic because it can be accepted as trustworthy and exact. In this volume we have also a characteristic American study, *Dolph Heyliger*, a fresh romance of Irving's beloved Hudson River.

The *Tales of a Traveller*, the scenes of which were laid partly in Italy, show the versatility of the author in bringing his imagination into harmony with varied surroundings. Whether the subject be in England, in France, or in Italy, whether he is writing of the Alhambra or of the Hudson, Irving always succeeds in coming into the closest sympathy with his environment. He has the artist's touch in the ability to reproduce the atmosphere in which the scenes of his stories are placed.

The *Life of Columbus* may be considered as presenting Irving's first attempt at history, but it was an attempt that secured for him at once a place in the first rank among historians. In this biography, Irving gave ample evidence of his power of reconstituting the figures of the past. He impresses upon the reader the personality of the great discoverer, the idealist, the man who was so absorbed in his own belief that he was able to impress this upon the skeptics about him. We have before us a vivid picture of the Spanish Court from which, after patient effort, Columbus secured the grudging support for his expedition, and we come to know each member of the little crew through whose service the great task was brought to accomplishment. Irving makes clear that the opposition of the clerics and the apathy of King Ferdinand were at last overcome only through the sympathetic support given to the project by Queen Isabella.

In the *Conquest of Granada*, the narrative is given in a humorous form, but it represents the result of very thorough historic research. By the device of presenting the record through the personality of the mythical priestly chronicler, Fray Agapida, blindly devoted to the cause of the Church, Irving is able to emphasize less invidiously than if the statements were made direct, the bitterness, the barbarism, and the prejudices of the so-called Christianity of the Spaniards. Through the utterances of Agapida, we come to realize the narrowness of Ferdinand and the priestly arrogance of Ferdinand's advisers. The admiration of the reader goes out to the fierce patriotism of the great Moorish leader, El Zagal, and his sympathies are enlisted for the pathetic career of Boabdil, the last monarch of Granada. *Granada* was Irving's favourite production, and he found himself frankly disappointed that (possibly on the ground of the humorous form given to the narrative) the book failed to secure full acceptance as history and was not considered by the author's admirers to take rank with his more popular work.

The *Alhambra*, which has been called the "Spanish Sketch Book," is a beautiful expression of the thoughts and dreams of the author as he muses amid the ruins of the Palace of the Moors. The reader feels that in recording the great struggle which terminated in 1492 with the triumph of Spain, Irving's sympathies are not with the conquering Christians but with the defeated Moslems.

The *Life of Mahomet* and the supplementary volume on the successors of Mahomet followed in 1849–50. The biographies constitute good narrative and give further examples of the author's exceptional power of characterization. If they fail to reach the high standard of the *Columbus*, it is doubtless because Irving possessed no such close familiarity with the environment of his subjects. In Spain he had made long sojourns and had become imbued with the atmosphere of the Spanish legends and ideals. He knew his Italy, in like manner, from personal observation and from sympathetic relations with the peasants no less than the scholars, but Arabia was to him a distant land.

The writing of *Columbus* prepared the way for Irving's chief historical achievement. The *Life of Washington* is not only a biography presenting with wonderful precision and completeness the nature and career of a great American, but a study, and the first study of importance, of the evolution of the republic. Irving had given thought and planning to the biography for years before he was able to put a pen to the work. As early as 1832 he had confided to some of his nearer friends his ambition to associate his name with that of Washington and to devote such literary and historical ability as he possessed to the creation of a literary monument to the Father of the Republic. The work had, of necessity, been postponed during his long sojourn in England and the later residence in Spain, but he never permitted himself to put the plan to one side. As soon as the sales of the new Putnam edition of the earlier works and of the later volumes that he had been able to add to these freed him from financial care, he began the collection of material for the great history. He had already travelled over much of the country with which the career of his hero was connected. He knew by the observations of an intelligent traveller the regions of New England, New Jersey, Western Pennsylvania, and Virginia, while with the territory of New York he had from his youth been familiar. The Hudson River, which had heretofore served as the pathway for Irving's dreams of romance, was now to be studied historically as the scene of some of the most critical of the campaigns of the Revolution. Since the date of Irving's work, later historians have had the advantage of fuller material, particularly that secured from the correspondence in the homes of Revolutionary leaders, North and South, but no later historian has found occasion for any corrections of importance, either in the details of Irving's narrative, or in his analysis of the characters of the men through whom the great contest was carried on. Irving possessed one qualification which is lacking in the make-up of not a few conscientious and able historians. His strain of romance and his power of imagination enabled him to picture to himself and to make vivid the scenes described, and the nature, the purpose, and the manner of thought of each character introduced. The reader is brought into personal association with the force and dignity of the great leader; with the assumption, the vanity, the exaggerated opinion of his powers and ability of Charles Lee; with the sturdy patriotism, the simple-hearted nature, persistence, and pluck of the pioneer fighter Israel Putnam; with the skill, leadership, and unselfishness of Philip Schuyler; with the pettiness and bumptiousness of Gates; with the grace, fascination, and loyalty of Lafayette; and with the varied attainments and brilliant qualities of that wonderful youth Alexander Hamilton. We are not simply reading descriptions, we are looking at living pictures, and the historic narrative has the quality of a vitascope.

The production of this great history constituted a fitting culmination to the literary labours of its author. When Irving penned the last word of the fifth volume of the *Washington*, he was within a few months of his death. The work on this volume had in fact been a strain upon his vitality, and there were times when he needed to exert his will power to the utmost in order to complete the task allotted to himself for the day. He said pathetically from time to time to his nephew and loyal aid Pierre and to his friend Putnam, "I do not know whether I may be spared to complete this history, but I shall do my best." In this his final work, the shaping of the fifth volume, he did his best.

It may fairly be contended for this American author, whose work dates almost from the beginning of the Republic, that his writings possess vitality and continued importance for the readers of this later century. His historical works have, as indicated, a distinctive character. They are trustworthy and dignified history, while they possess the literary charm and grace of the work of a true man of letters. For the world at large, Irving will, however, doubtless best be known by his works of imagination, and the students in the gallery in Oxford who chaffed "Diedrich Knickerbocker" as he was receiving his degree were probably right in selecting as the characteristic and abiding production of the author his *Rip Van Winkle*.

CHAPTER V

Bryant and the Minor Poets

I. BRYANT

TO the old-fashioned prayers which his mother and grandmother taught him, the little boy born in Cummington, Massachusetts, 3 November, 1794, a year before John Keats across the sea, was wont to add (so we learn from the Autobiographical Fragment),[1] his private supplication that he might "receive the gift of poetic genius, and write verses that might endure."

This inner urge and bent, witnessed so early and so long, could not be severed, early or late, from the unfathomable world. Bryant's was a boyhood and youth among the virginal woods, hills, and streams, among a farmer folk and country labours and pastimes, in a Puritan household, with a father prominent in the state as physician and legislator, whose independence and breadth are attested by a leaning toward that liberalism which was to develop into the American Unitarian movement and by his enlightened devotion, as critic and friend, to the boy's ambitions in rhyme. Private tutoring by unpretending clergymen, a year at poverty-stricken Williams College, law studies in an upland office, distasteful practice as a poor country lawyer, a happy marriage with her whose "birth was in the forest shades,"[2] death, season by season, of those nearest and dearest, travel down among the slave-holding states and out to the prairies of Illinois, where his brothers and mother were for a second time pioneers, with voyages on various occasions to the West Indies, to Europe, and to the Levant, and fifty years as a New York editor, who with the wisdom of a statesman and the courage of a reformer made *The Evening Post* America's greatest newspaper,—all this gives us a life of many visions of forest, field, and foam, of many books in diverse tongues, of many men and cities, of many problems in his own career and in the career of that nation which he made so much his own, a life not without its own adventures, struggles, joys, and griefs. So it stands recorded, a consistent and eloquent and (fortunately) a familiar chapter in American biography, even as it passed before the visionary octogenarian back in the old home, sitting "in the early twilight," whilst

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[1] Godwin, *Life*, vol. 1, p. 26.

[2] *Poems*, p. 82. Roslyn edition (1913), from which all poetical quotations are cited in this chapter.

> Through the gathering shade
> He looked on the fields around him
> Where yet a child he played.[1]

One might regard the events of this lifetime either as in subtle and inevitable ways harmoniously contributory to the poet-nature that was Bryant's (if not indeed often its persistent and victorious creation), or as in the main a deflection, a check. If no other American poet has written, year measured by year, so little poetry, the poetry of no other so clearly defines at once its author's character, environment, and country; if no other American poet was apparently so much occupied with other interests than poetry, not excepting the critic, diplomat, orator, and humorist Lowell, none felt his high calling, it seems, with as priestly a consecration,—no, truly, not excepting Whitman, who protested thereon sometimes a little too much.

Bryant's public career as poet fulfilled the psalmist's threescore years and ten, if we date from *The Embargo*, an anti-Jefferson satire in juvenile heroics (1808). It began with the year of Scott's *Marmion;* it was barely completed with *Sigurd the Volsung* of William Morris; it included the lives of Byron and Shelley and most that was best in those of Tennyson, Arnold, Browning. It began the year following Joel Barlow's American epic *The Columbiad*, and the publication of *The Echo* by the Hartford Wits. Longfellow and Whittier were in the cradle, Holmes and Poe unborn. Except Freneau, there were no poets in the country but those imitative versifiers of an already antiquated English fashion whom Bryant was himself to characterize[1] with quiet justice in the first critical appraisal of our "literature," the first declaration of intellectual independence, antedating Emerson's *American Scholar* by nineteen years. He compassed the generations of all that was once or is still most reputed in American poetry: the generations of Paulding, Percival, Halleck, Drake, Willis, Poe, Longfellow, Whittier, Emerson, Lowell, Whitman, Bret Harte.

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[1] *A Lifetime.*

Yet he was from very early, in imagination and expression, curiously detached from what was going on in poetry around him. *The Embargo* is a boy's echo, significant only for precocious facility and for the twofold interest in verse and politics that was to be lifelong. Byron's voice is audible in the Spenserian stanzas and subject matter of the Phi Beta Kappa poem of 1821, *The Ages*[2]; the New York verses, so painfully facetious on Rhode Island coal and a mosquito, are less after Byron than after the town wit Halleck and his coterie. Wordsworth, at the reading of whose *Lyrical Ballads* in 1811, "a thousand springs," Bryant said to Dana, "seemed to gush up at once in his heart, and the face of Nature of a sudden to change into a strange freshness and life," was the companion into the woods and among the flowers who more than all others helped him to find himself; but *Thanatopsis*, so characteristic of Bryant, was written almost certainly some weeks before he had seen the *Lyrical Ballads*,[3] and, even if Bryant's eminence as poet of nature owed much to this early reinforcement, his poetry is not Wordsworthian either in philosophy or in mood or in artistry. Wordsworth never left the impress on Bryant's work that the realms of gold made upon the surprised and spellbound boy Keats. No later prophets and craftsmen,

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[1] *North American Review*, July, 1818.

[2] Thomson's *Liberty* may have contributed something to the choice of theme.

[3] The time relations seem to have been as follows. Bryant's father purchased the *Lyrical Ballads* in Boston during 1810, when the son was at college (till May, 1811); Bryant "had picked it up at home" (Godwin, *Life*, vol. 1, p. 104) to take with him to Worthington (Dec., 1811), where it was that, as a young law student, he first read it with such surprised delight. *Thanatopsis* had been written between May and December, apparently in the autumn (Godwin, *Life*, vol. 1, pp. 97–99), and if (as likely) before 3 November, then written when Bryant was still a lad of sixteen. See Van Doren, C., *The Growth of "Thanatopsis," Nation*, 7 October, 1915.

American, English, or continental, seem to have touched him at all.[1]

More obvious to the registrar of parallels are Bryant's literary relations to the poets he read, and read evidently with deeper susceptibility than has been realized, before 1811.[2] The reference is not alone to the well-known relation *Thanatopsis* bears to Blair's *Grave*, Porteus's *Death*,[3] Kirk White's *Time*, *Rosemary*, etc., and the whole Undertaker's Anthology so infinitely beneath the Lucretian grandeur of America's first great poem with its vision of

> Dead men whose bones earth bosomed long ago.

The reference is equally to certain themes and moods and unclassified details in poems written long after *Thanatopsis*, all of which, though so characteristically Bryant's, make us feel him as much closer to the eighteenth century tradition than any of his contemporaries, even than Holmes with his deference to "the steel-bright epigrams of Pope"; so that we may appraise him much better by going forward from the moralizing, "nature" blank verse of Thomson, Cowper, Young, and Akenside, than backward from Wordsworth and Tennyson. In the eighteenth century tradition is the very preference for blank verse as the instrument for large and serious thought, and the lifelong preference itself for large and serious thought on Death, History, Destiny. The Biblical note too is of the former age. But the diction is, if anything, freer than the mature Wordsworth himself from eighteenth century poetic slang, and the peculiarities of this blank verse (to be mentioned later) have fewer cadences suggestive of Cowper than, perhaps, of the early poems of Southey, whose impression on those impressionable first years of Bryant's has apparently been overlooked.[4] With this early romanticism we may connect the sentimental element in the appeal of innocent and happy savages, whether on Pitcairn's Island or in the pristine Indian summers; likewise the two or three tales of horror and the supernatural, in which he succeeded so poorly. But he arrived soon enough to contribute his own influence to the nineteenth-century poetry of nature.

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[1] Tennysonian blank-verse in *Sella* has been suggested—unconvincingly.

[2] See Autobiographical Fragment for a partial list.

[3] Winner of the Seaton Prize at Cambridge for 1759. *Death* may be found in *Musae Seatonianae*, Cambridge, 1808—a copy of which was apparently in Doctor Bryant's library.

[4] Compare Southey's *Inscriptions* (themselves imitated from Akenside), especially *In a Forest*, with *Inscription for the Entrance to a Wood.*

He came to himself early, for one who had so many years in which to change, if he would change or could. The first volume, the forty-four pages of 1821, contains most, the second, 1832, certainly contains all, of the essential Bryant, the essential as to what he cared for in nature and human life, as to how he envisaged it in imagination and dwelt with it in intellect and character, and as to how he gave it expression. In the later years there is more of Bryant's playful fancy, perhaps more of ethical thinking and mood, a slight shift of emphasis, new constructions, not new materials. His world and his speech were already his: there is no new revelation and no new instrument in any one of the several succeeding issues of his verse (though there are many new, many high poems), as there are new revelations and new instruments in Byron, Tennyson, and Browning; indeed, Keats in the three years between the volumes of 1817 and 1820 lived a much longer, a more diversified life of steadily increasing vision and voice. It need hardly be remarked, then, that he experienced no intellectual and moral crisis,—neither from without, as did Wordsworth when his country took up arms against Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality and when shortly Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality danced, like the Weird Sisters, around the cauldron of horror; nor from within, like the expatriated husband and father Byron, and the political idealist Dante, and even the *flâneur* who wrote *The Ballad of Reading Gaol.*

He came, likewise, early to his fame. He was first and alone. The little world of the lovers of good things on the North Atlantic seaboard in those days, trained as it was in the English and ancient classics, quickly set the young man apart; Bryant became established, fortunately, somewhat before American literary criticism had become self-consciously patriotic, indiscriminate, vulgar. England, too, long so important an influence on American judgments of American products, early accorded him a measure of honour and thanks. It is well known that Washington Irving secured the English reprinting of the volume of 1832 in the same year, with a brief criticism by way of dedication to Samuel Rogers, whose reading of the contents was the delight of that old Maecenas and Petronius Arbiter. It has, however, apparently not been observed that the entire contents of the volume of 1821 were reprinted, indeed in the same order, in *Specimens of the American Poets* (London, 1822) with a noteworthy comment[1] on the lines *Thanatopsis* that "there are few pieces, in the works of even the very first of our living poets, which exceed them in sublimity and compass of poetical thought." And Bryant was spared from the beginning furor and contempt: he was never laurelled like Byron, never foolscapped like Keats by critics or public; his repute was always, like himself, dignified, quiet, secure. And so the critical problem is initially simplified, in two ways: there is no story of struggle for recognition, and the effects of that struggle on the workman; there is no story of evolution of inner forces. Thus the poetry of Bryant admits of treatment as one performance, one perception and one account of the world, in a more restricted sense than is generally applicable to poetic performance, where the unity is the unity of psychological succession in a changing temporal order: *Don Juan* is, perhaps, implied in the *English Bards* and *Childe Harold*, *Paradise Lost* in the *Nativity*, *Hamlet* in *Romeo and Juliet;* but, in a humbler sphere, *Among the Trees* and *The Flood of Years* are less implied than actually present in *A Forest Hymn* and *Thanatopsis*. If Bryant's poems need sometimes the reference of date, it is for external occasion and impulse, not for artistic registration. Three periods have been discovered for Chaucer, and four for Shakespeare; our modest American was without "periods."

The critical problem is simple, though not necessarily trivial or easy, in another way: this one performance was itself of a relatively simple character. Bryant's poems stress perpetually a certain few ideas, grow perpetually out of a certain few emotional responses, and report in a few noble imaginative modes a certain few aspects of man and nature, with ever recurring habits of observation, architectonics, and style. This absence of complexity is, again, emphasized by the elemental clarity and simplicity of those same few ideas, emotions, modes, methods. Within his range he is complete, harmonious, and, in a deeper sense than above, impressively one. It is for this, perhaps, that of all American poets he makes the strongest impression of an organic style, as contrasted with an individual, a literary style, consciously elaborated, as in Poe and Whitman. It is partly for this, perhaps, that the most Puritan of our poets is also the most Greek. Bryant's limitations, then, are intimately engaged in the peculiar distinction of his work; and it is ungracious, as well as superficial, to quarrel with them.

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[1] P. 190.

Bryant's ideas, stated in bald prose, are elementary,—common property of simple minds. His metaphysics was predominantly that of the Old Testament: God is the Creator and His works and His purposes are good. Bryant communicated, however, little sense of the loving fatherhood and divine guidance in human affairs: perhaps once only, in *To a Waterfowl*, which originated in an intensely religious moment of young manhood.[1] His ethics stress the austerer loyalties of justice and truth rather than those of faith, hope, and charity. His politics in his poems, however analytic and specific he might be as publicist, reiterate only the ideals of political freedom and progress, with ever confident reference to the high destinies of America, that "Mother of a Mighty Race." His assurance of individual immortality for all men, which scarcely touches the problem of sin, rests not on revelation, not on a philosophy of the transcendental significance of intellect, struggle, and pain, but mainly on primitive man's desire to meet the loved and lost, the father, the sister, the wife. There is nothing subtle, complex, or tricky here; there are no philosophers, apparently, on his reading desk; no Spinoza, Plotinus, Berkeley, Hartley, who were behind Coleridge's discursive verse; no Thomas Aquinas who was the propedeutic for *The Divine Comedy*. And of any intricate psychology, or pseudo-psychology, such as delighted Browning, there is of course not a bit. There is in these ideas, as ideas, nothing that a noble pagan, say of republican Rome, might not have held to, even before the advent of Stoic and Academician. But there is a further paganism in the emphasis on the phenomena of life as life, on death as death. Man's life, as individual and type, is what it is—birth and toil in time; and death is what it is, save when he mentions a private grief—for men and empires it is a passing away in a universe of time and change. The original version of *Thanatopsis* is more characteristic than its inconsistent introductory and concluding lines, now the oftenest quoted of all his writings. If Bryant was the Puritan in his austerity and morale, he was quite as much the Pagan in the universality of his ideas, and in his temperamental adjustment to brute fact.

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[1] Godwin, *Life*, vol. 1, pp. 143–145.

On nature and man's relation to nature, one who reads without prepossession will find the American Wordsworth equally elemental. He raises his hymn in the groves, which were God's first temples,—venerable columns, these ranks of trees, reared by Him of old. And "the great miracle still goes on"; and even the "delicate forest flower" seems

> An emanation of the indwelling Life,
> A visible token of the upholding Love,
> That are the soul of this great universe.[1]

But more frequently nature is herself enough, in the simple thought that personifies and capitalizes: it is She herself that speaks to man, in his different hours, a various language. But it is only casually, as in *Among the Trees*, that he wonders if the vegetable world may not have some

> dim and faint
> . . . sense of pleasure and of pain,
> As in our dreams;

only casually, for conscious mysticism was foreign to Bryant's intellect, and the conception had yet to be scientifically investigated in the laboratories of the Hindoo botanist Bose. Here nature, as herself the Life, is simply an hypostasis of the racial imagination in which Bryant so largely shared, just like his intimate personifications of her phenomena, her flowers, her winds, and waters; it is not a philosophic idea, but a primitive instinct. "Nature's teachings" for men are simply the ideas that suggest themselves to Bryant himself (not inevitably to everyone) when he observes what goes on, or what is before him:

> The faintest streak that on a petal lies,
> May speak instruction to initiate eyes.[2]

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[1] *A Forest Hymn.*

[2] *The Mystery of Flowers.*

But this apparently Wordsworthian couplet can be related to no system of thought or Wordsworthian instruction. These ideas are sometimes merely analogies, where in effect the flower (be it the gentian), or the bird (be it the waterfowl), is the first term in a simile on man's moral life; in this phase Bryant's thought of nature differs from that of Homer, the Psalmist, Jesus, or any sage or seer, Pagan or Christian, only in the appositeness, more or less, of the illustrative symbol. It implies no more a philosophy of nature than similes drawn from the action of a locomotive or a motor-boat would imply a philosophy of machinery. As a fact, Bryant's one abiding idea about nature is that she is a profound influence on the human spirit, chastening, soothing, encouraging, ennobling—how, he does not say; but the fact he knows from experience, and mankind knows it with him, and has known it from long before the morning when the sorrowful, chafed soul of Achilles walked apart by the shore of the many-sounding sea.

Every poet, like every individual, has of course his favourite, his recurrent ideas: Wordsworth, again and again, adverts to the uses of old memories as a store and treasure for one's future days, again and again he sees his life as divided into three ages; Browning again and again preaches the doctrine that it is better to aim high and fail than to aim low and succeed; Emerson that the soul must live from within. But with Bryant the recurrence is peculiarly insistent and restricted in variety.

But these ideas were involved in a temperament. The chief differences among men are not in their ideas, as ideas, but in the power of the ideas over their emotions, or in the ideas considered as the overflow of their emotions. In Bryant presumably the ideas became formulas of thought, clarified and explicit, through his feelings. A man of great reserve and poise, both in life and art, his "coldness," well established in our literary tradition by some humorous lines of Lowell and a letter of Hawthorne, is a pathetic misreading. There is no sex passion; if there was in Bryant any potentiality of the young Goethe or Byron, it was early transmuted into the quiet affections for wife and home. There is no passion for friends; without being a recluse, he never craved comradeship, like Whitman, for humanity's sake, nor, like Shelley, for affinity's sake, and was, in the lifelong fellowship with such men as the elder Dana, the literary mentor who is responsible for more of Bryant's revisions in verse than any one knows,[1] spared the shocks that usually stimulate the expression of the passion of friendship. But his feelings, for woman and friend, were deep if quiet—perhaps deeper because quiet. And the other primary feelings were equally deep: awe in the presence of the cosmic process and the movements of mankind, reverence for holiness, pity for suffering, brooding resentment against injustice, rejoicing in moral victory, patriotism, susceptibility to beauty of outline and colour and sound, with peculiar susceptibility to both charm and sublimity in natural phenomena. These emotions, in Bryant, ring out through his poetry, clear, without blur or fringe, like the Italian vowels. He had no emotional crotchets, no erratic sensibilities; among other things, he was too robust and too busy. He had the "feelings of calm power and mighty sweep" of which he himself speaks, as befitting the poet.[2]

The few aspects of man and nature he reported have, in a way, been necessarily already suggested. With senses more alert to observe details in the physiognomy and voice of nature than of man, his imagination continually sees the same general vision: the Indian, shadowy type of a departed world, accoutred with feathers and tomahawk, realized, however, in almost none of his actual customs and in none of his actual feelings save that of sorrow for tribal ruin; the warriors of freedom, especially of the American Revolution; the infinite and mysterious racial past on this earth with all its crimes, triumphs, mutations, rather than with its more ethical future which he believes in more than he visualizes, an act of his thinking rather than of his imagination; the earth itself as the sepulchre of man; and, like one great primeval landscape, the mountain, the sea, the wind, the river, the seasons, the plain, the forest that undergo small change from their reality, take on few subjective peculiarities, by virtue of an imagination that seems, as it were, to absorb rather than to create its objects,—in this more like the world of phenomena in Lucretius than, say, in Tennyson, or in the partially Lucretian Meredith, certainly than in Hugo, to whom nature becomes so often monstrous and grotesque. And yet Bryant's imagination has its characteristic modes of relating its objects. Three or four huge and impressive metaphors underlie a great part of his poetry: the past as a place, an underworld,[1] dim and tremendous, most poignantly illustrated in the poem *The Past* with its personal allusions, and most sublimely in *The Death of Slavery*, a great political hymn, with Lowell's *Commemoration Ode*, and Whitman's *When Lilacs last in the Dooryard Bloomed*, the highest poetry of solemn grandeur produced by the Civil War; death as a mysterious passageway, whether through gate[2] or cloud,[3] with the hosts ever entering and disappearing in the Beyond; mankind conceived as one vast company, a troop, a clan; and, as suggested above, nature as a multitudinous Life.

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[1] See some correspondence between Bryant and Dana apropos the 1846 edition of the *Poems*, Godwin, *Life*, vol. II, p. 14 ff.

[2] *The Poet.*

Bryant wonderfully visualized and unified the vast scope of the racial movement and the range of natural phenomena. His "broad surveys," as they have been called, are more than surveys: they are large acts of the combining imagination, presenting the significance, not merely the catalogue. These acts take us home to the most inveterate habit of his poet-mind. As method or device they seem to suggest a simple prescription for writing poetry; superficially, after one has met them again and yet again in Bryant, one might call them easy to do, because easy to understand. The task is, however, not to make a list, but to make the right list; a list not by capricious association of ideas, but by the laws of inner harmony of meaning. Again, in Bryant the list is itself often a fine, far look beyond the immediate fact—the immediate fact with which all but the poet would rest content. *The Song of the Sower* needed no suggestion from Schiller's *Song of the Bell*, which, however, Bryant doubtless knew;[4] it highly illustrates his own natural procedure:

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[1] The figure is in Kirke White's *Time*:

> "Where are conceal'd the days which have elapsed?
> Hid in the mighty cavern of *the past*,
> They rise upon us only to appal,
> By indistinct and half-glimpsed images."

This is doubtless one of the many indications of how thoroughly Bryant's early reading penetrated his subconsciousness and, with boyhood's woods and mountains, contributed to his essential make-up in maturity.

[2] *Poems*, p. 260.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

[4] See *The Death of Schiller*.

Fling wide the golden shower; we trust
The strength of armies to the dust.

The grain shall ripen for the warrior. Then he goes on: 'O fling it wide, for all the race: for peaceful workers on sea and land, for the wedding feast, for the various unfortunate, for the communion, for Orient and Southland'—and we live, as we read, wise in the basic fact of agriculture and wise in the activities of humankind. The precise idea is handled more lightly in *The Planting of the Apple Tree.* Often the "survey"—the word is convenient—starts from some on-moving phenomenon in nature—again an immediate fact—and proceeds by compassing that phenomenon's whence or whither, what it has experienced or what it will do: let one re-read his tale of *The River*, by what haunts it flows (like, but how unlike, Tennyson's brook); *The Unknown Way*, the spots it passes (becoming a path symbolic of the mystery of life); *The Sea*, what it does under God (like and unlike Byron's apostrophe); *The Winds*, what they do on sea and land; *A Rain-Dream*, imaging the waters of the globe. Sometimes the phenomenon is static and calls his imagination to penetrate its secret history, or what changes it has seen about it, as when he looks at the fountain[1] or is among the trees.[2] Sometimes the vision rides upon or stands beside no force in Nature, but is his own direct report, as in *Fifty Years*, on the changes in individual lives, in history, in inventions, especially in these States, since his class graduated at Williams. "Broad surveys" of human affairs and of the face of earth, so dull, routine, bombastic as far as attempted in Thomson's *Liberty*, in Blair's *Grave*, in White's *Time*, become in Bryant's less pretentious poems the essential triumph of a unique imagination. The mode remained a favourite to the end: large as in *The Flood of Years*, intimate and tender in *A Lifetime.* No American poet, except Whitman, had an imagination at all like Bryant's, or, indeed, except Whitman and Emerson, as great as Bryant's.

No reminder should be needed that Bryant, like Thoreau and Burroughs, was a naturalist with wide and accurate knowledge. He knew the way of the mist on river and mountain-crest, all tints of sunset, the rising and the setting of the constellations, every twig and berry and gnarled root on the forest floor, all shapes of snow on pine and shrub, the commoner insects and wild creatures, and especially the birds and the flowers; and he knew the hums and the murmurs and the boomings that rise, like a perpetual exhalation, from the breast of earth. A traveller from some other planet could take back with him no more useful account of our green home than Bryant's honest poems of nature. There is a group of his poems that details the look, habits, and habitat of single objects: *The Yellow Violet* (with an intrusive moral—but his "morals" are, contrary to traditional opinion, seldom intrusive, being part of the imaginative and emotional texture), and *Robert of Lincoln* (which is besides most fetching in its playfulness and Bryant's one success in dramatic portrayal). He was a good observer; he would never have placed, like Coleridge, a star within the nether tip of the crescent moon. There is an allied group which impart the quality of a moment in nature, as *Summer Wind:*

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[1] *Poems*, p. 185.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

> It is a sultry day; the sun has drunk
> The dew that lay upon the morning grass;
> There is no rustling in the lofty elm . . .
> . . . All is silent, save the faint
> And interrupted murmur of the bee,
> Settling on the sick flowers . . . .
> . . . Why so slow?
> Gentle and voluble spirit of the air?

These, if not the most representative, are the most exquisite of all his poems.

And no reminder should be needed that he knew best the American scene, and was the first to reveal it in art. Irving, in the London edition of 1832, naturally emphasized this claim to distinction; and Emerson, many years later, at an after-dinner speech on the poet's seventieth birthday, dwelt on it with a winsome and eloquent gratitude[1] that has made all subsequent comment an impertinence.

Apart from the characteristics outlined above, Bryant had, as if a relief and release from the verities and solemnities, a love of fairyland: he had found it already, for instance, in the snow world of the *Winter Piece;* he went to it more often and eagerly from the editorial desk and the noise and heat of the Civil War: in *The Little People of the Snow*, in *Sella* (the underwater maiden), and in the fragments, *A Tale of Cloudland*, and *Castles in the Air*. Their flowing blank verse (each some hundreds of lines), unlike his early experiments in prose narrative (which in their wooden arrangement, dull plot, and stilted characterizations are of a piece with the American short story before Poe and Hawthorne), tells, in simple chronological order, of one simple type of adventure, a mortal penetrating beyond the confines of nature—again the repetition of theme and architectonics, and one more manifestation of the primitive in Bryant (for the fairy-tale is, as the anthropologists tell us, among the most primitive activities of man) as dreamer and poet.

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[1] Godwin, *Life*, vol. II, p. 216 ff.

Like Cowper and Longfellow, and so many others, Bryant turned, in later life, to a long task of translation, in his case Homer, as relief from sorrow. The literary interest was to see if he might not, by closeness to the original and simplicity of straightforward modern English, supersede the looseness and artificial Miltonic pomp of Cowper. His translation, by detailed comparison line for line with the Greek and with the English poet, will be found to be exactly what Bryant intended it. By block comparison of book for book, or version for version, it will be found to be the better translation, from the point of view of limpid and consequent story-telling—perhaps the best in English verse. Of Arnold's four Homeric characteristics, rapidity of movement, plainness of style, simplicity of ideas, nobility of manner, Bryant's translation is inadequate mainly in the first and the last, but the *Homer* is, in any case, a proof of intellectual alertness, scholarship, and technical skill. All his translations, many of them made before Longfellow's now widely-recognized activities as spokesman in America for European letters, are a witness to Bryant's knowledge of foreign tongues and literatures, to his part in the culturization of America, to the breadth of his taste and a certain dramatic adaptability (for the originals that attracted him had often not much of the specific qualities of his own verse), and to his all but impeccable artistry.

Of his artistry this study has scarcely spoken; yet it has been throughout implied. His qualities of thought, feeling, imagination, were communicated, were indeed only communicable, because so wrought into his diction, his rhymes, cadences, and stanzas. Indeed, there is no separating a poet's feeling, say, for a beautiful flower from his manner of expressing it—for all we know about his feeling for the flower is what he succeeds in communicating by speech. It is tautology to say that a poet treats a sublime idea sublimely—for it is the sublimity in the treatment that makes us realize the sublimity of the idea. We can at most conceive a poet's "style" as a whole; as, along with his individual world of meditation and vision, another phase of his creative power—as his creation of music. Possibly it is the deepest and most wonderful of the poet's creations, transcending its manifestation in connection with any single poem. Perhaps, for instance, Milton's greatest creative act was not *Lycidas*, or the *Sonnets*, or *Paradise Lost*, but that music we call Miltonic. Certainly this is the more true the more organic the style is; and, as said before, Bryant's style was highly organic.

An astute and sympathetic mind who might never have seen a verse of Bryant's could deduce that style from what has been said in this chapter—if what has been said has been correctly said. Such a mind would not need to be told that Bryant's diction was severe, simple, chaste, narrower in range than that of his political prose; that his rhymes were dignified, sonorous, exact and emphatic rather than subtle or allusive, and narrow in range—not from artistic poverty but because the rhyme vocabulary of the simple and serious moods is in English itself narrow, and much novelty and variety of rhyme is in our speech possible only when, like Browning, one portrays the grotesque and the eccentric, or like Shelley the fantastic, or like Butler the comic, or like Chaucer the familiar. Such a mind would deduce Bryant's most fundamental rhythm, the iambic; his most fundamental metre, the pentameter; together with his preference for stanzaic, or periodic, treatment, whether in blank verse or in rhyme, rather than for couplets; yes, together with the most characteristic cadences,—like the curves of a distant mountain range, few and clear but not monotonous; like the waves of a broad river, slow and long but not hesitant or ponderous, never delighting by subtle surprises, nor jarring by abrupt stops and shifts. Indeed, and would our critic not likewise guess, especially if recently schooled at Leipzig under Sievers, the very pitch of his voice in verse—strongest in the lower octaves—as well as the intrinsic alliteration,[1]—an alliteration as natural as breathing, in its context unobtrusive as such to the conscious ear because so involved in a diction which is itself the outgrowth of very mood and meaning? In quite different ways, Bryant is, with Poe, America's finest artist in verse. Perhaps this is, with Bryant's genuineness of manhood, a reason why Bryant was the one native contemporary that Poe thoroughly respected.

What to puzzled readers seems "characteristically Bryant's blank verse" is really the total impression of both materials and manner, manner itself including diction as well as metrics. But the metrics alone do have their peculiarities, which can, however, hardly be examined here: line endings like "and the green moss," caesuras at the end of the first and of the fourth foot, the tendency to repeat the same caesura and cadence through a succession of lines, a stanza group of five or more lines with full stop followed by a single line or so, inverted accent at the beginning of a line, and a differentiated, strong cadence at the conclusion of the whole poem which gives the effect of a completion, not of a mere stopping,—these are all contributing factors.

Yet Bryant is not one of the world's master-poets. It is not so much that he contributed little or nothing to philosophic thought or spiritual revolution, not altogether that his range was narrow, not that he never created a poem of vast and multitudinous proportions, drama, epic, or tale, not that he knew nature better than human life and human life better than human nature, not that he now and then lapsed from imaginative vision into a bit of sentiment or irrelevant fancy,—not either that there is not a single dark saying, or obscure word, construction, allusion, in all his verse, for the judicious to elucidate at a club or in a monograph. He is not one of the world's master-poets, because he was not pre-eminently endowed with intellectual intensity and imaginative concentration. The character of his whole mind was discursive, enumerative, tending, when measured by the masters, to the diffuse. Thus, among other results, his report of things has given man's current speech but few quotations, of either epigrammatic criticism or haunting beauty. A book could be written on this thesis, but a paragraph must suffice. It is just as well: it is better to realize what Bryant was than to exploit what he was not.

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[1] Largely on b and frequently in idiomatic pairs, as "bees and birds," "bled or broke."

And if he was and is a true poet, he belongs to our best traditions also as critic. He was never, to be sure, the professional guide of literary taste, like Arnold and Lowell. Apart from sensible but obvious memorial addresses on Irving, Halleck, and Cooper, his best known essay is introductory to his *Library of Poetry and Song;* it enunciates fewer keen judgments on individuals, fewer profound principles, than does Emerson's introduction to his *Parnassus*, but it does enunciate the primacy of "a luminous style" and of themes central to common man, in noble paragraphs that should not be forgotten, certainly not by any one who believes that criticism gains in authority when it is the concentrated deduction of experience. Of his services as editor of a leading metropolitan paper, through nearly two generations of crisis after crisis in the nation's life, only an historian should speak. Not even Godwin, his editorial colleague, has spoken, it seems, quite the definitive word. Why should it not be spoken? The fact is, no such man ever sat, before or since, in the editorial chair; in no one other has there been such culture, scholarship, wisdom, dignity, moral idealism. Was it all in Greeley? in Dana? What those fifty years may have meant as an influence on the American press, especially as counteracting the flamboyant and vulgar, the layman may only conjecture.

There is no space to speak of his letters beyond noting that, with all their elegance, courtesy, criticism, information, they do not belong, with Cicero's, Gray's, Cowper's, Byron's, Emerson's, Meredith's, to the literature of correspondence, because they are without zest for little details of human life (whether in others or in himself), or without informal spontaneity and flashes of insight—or without whatever it be that makes a private letter ultimately a public joy.

As a whole, Bryant's prose style has quality as well as qualities, but here a word only on its relation to the style of his poetry. Bryant more than once explicitly differentiated the functions of the two harmonies[1]; but Prescott[2] was not the only one who detected in both the same qualities of mind: obviously a man is not two different beings according to whether he is playing a violin or a cello, singing or talking. Bryant, as Dowden said of Burke, saw "the life of society in a rich, concrete, imaginative way"; and not unlike Burke he had, as politician, the poet's generalizing power. But the point here of special interest is the recurrence in his prose so often, when his prose rises to things in their significance (as apart from their mere relations), of the same imaginative procedure: there is the "broad survey," as in the account of the waters of the Mississippi[3] (themselves introduced as a simile to illustrate the fame of Homer); there are his fundamental metaphors, the grammar of his dialect, as that of the past as a place, occurring in the editorial[4] on the amendment abolishing slavery, which is besides in many details of imagery almost another version of the poem on the same theme, written, says Godwin, a little later. In a public address on the electric telegraph[5] he said:

> My imagination goes down to the chambers of the middle sea, to those vast depths where repose the mystic wire on beds of coral, among forests of tangle, or on the bottom of the dim blue gulfs strewn with the bones of whales and sharks, skeletons of drowned men, and ribs and masts of foundered barks, laden with wedges of gold never to be coined, and pipes of the choicest vintages of earth never to be tasted. Through these watery solitudes, among the fountains of the great deep, the abode of perpetual silence, never visited by living human presence and beyond the sight of human eye, there are gliding to and fro, by night and by day, in light and in darkness, in calm and in tempest, currents of human thought borne by the electric pulse which obeys the bidding of man.

Is not this in imagination, mood, manner, even in the recurrent blank verse cadences, veritably as if an unpublished fragment of *A Hymn of the Sea?*

So we return to the Poet. Yet when all is said, it is the whole man that is ours and that should be ours. He is the Citizen of our tradition; not to us today so much for his hand in the founding of two political parties, nor for his counsels by personal letter and speech that Lincoln, the Statesman of our tradition, heard with such grave respect, nor for his civic activities in art, charity, and reform; but for that Mosaic massive head, those deep, peering, brooding eyes, those white shaggy brows, and the great beard over the old man's cloak that, in the engraving after Sarony's photograph, has been now for a generation familiar in so many homes of our land.

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[1] Godwin, *Prose*, vol. II, p. 22.

[2] Godwin, *Life*, vol. II, p. 36.

[3] Godwin, *Prose*, vol. II, p. 269.

[4] Godwin, *Life*, vol. II, p. 235.

[5] Godwin, *Prose*, vol. II, p. 259.

II. MINOR POETS

When Bryant, pioneer and patriarch, was laid away on that bright June afternoon of 1878 in the cemetery at Roslyn, Long Island, his oldest and dearest friend was still alive. Richard Henry Dana (1787–1879), one of the founders of *The North American Review*[1] and of the serious tradition in our literary criticism, is remembered, if at all, as verse-writer mainly through Bryant's praise, as Mason is remembered through Gray's. How remote the short jerky stanzas of *The Buccaneer* (1827), an ambitious tale of pirate and spectre, were from the talents and temper of the Bostonian descendant of the Puritan Anne Bradstreet, one may realize who reflects what Coleridge would have done with the spell and the uncanny, and what Byron with the crime and the movement—the two poets whom Dana was obviously emulating. But there are some good lines on the sea in *The Buccaneer*, and Dana's lyric, *The Little Beach Bird*, gets a traditional honourable mention in the manuals.

The other minor poets about Bryant lived in or near New York. James Kirke Paulding, humorist and proseman of no mean reputation,[2] and collaborator with Bryant in prose stories,[3] deserves mention here as an early representative of a conscious movement to make poetry out of American materials, convinced that

> Thrice happy he who first shall strike the lyre,
> With homebred feeling, and with homebred fire.

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[1] See Book II, Chap. XX.

[2] See also Book II, Chaps. I, III, IV, and VII.

[3] *Tales of the Glauber Spa* (1832).

The Backwoodsman (1818), from which this conventional couplet is taken, recounts, without much plot, in sturdy heroics more like Crabbe's realism than Goldsmith's idyllic sentiment, the rugged life and wild surroundings of a frontiersman and his family. It is an honest document, if not distinguished literature.

James Gates Percival (1795–1856) typified that crude manifestation of Romanticism, the self-constituted, the self-conscious poetic genius. Similarly, he typified the poetic mood that is without the poetic reason. The stuff of him is preeminently the stuff of poetry, but unclarified, uncontrolled, unorganized. It is often as if the personalities of Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth, Moore, and Bryant had been merged into one helpless hypnoidal state of metrical and emotional garrulity. Yet every now and then an open-minded reader is surprised by some first-hand observation, some graceful analogy, some picturesqueness or energy, some short lyric cry; and once at least he wrought a little gem—his simple stanzas on *Seneca Lake*. He typified, too, a not altogether ignoble phase of earlier American culture in his zealous acquisitiveness, both in science (he died as state geologist of Wisconsin), and in languages (he wrote verse in Scandinavian and German, and translated from innumerable tongues). But he belongs chiefly to the student of human nature; lonely, shy, unmarried, disappointed, poor, and dirty, he was in appearance and mode of life a character for Dickens, in heart and soul a character for Thackeray or George Eliot. Lowell pilloried him in an essay; Bryant was perhaps juster in his kindlier obituary criticism in *The Evening Post*. He was once a famous man.

Samuel Woodworth (1785–1842)[1] and George P. Morris (1802–1864), Knickerbocker editors of literary journals[2] and charitably remembered respectively for *The Old Oaken Bucket* and *Woodman, Spare that Tree*, were popular song writers in the sentimental fashion (perhaps more developed in America than in England) that seems to have originated with Tom Moore. Yet such songs had music, point, and refinement that sets them far above their popular descendants—the raucous, vulgar inanities born of vaudeville and cabaret.

Charles Fenno Hoffman (1806–1884), another Knickerbocker editor[1] and a song-writer, who, says a recent critic,[2] "possessed a lyric note almost completely unknown in the America of his time,"—by which is meant a certain catchy musical lilt,—is, however, chiefly memorable for the fine ballad *Monterey:*

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[1] See Book II, Chaps. II and VI.

[2] See Book II, Chap. XX.

> We were not many, we who stood
>   Before the iron sleet that day:
> Yet many a gallant spirit would
> Give half his years if but he could
>   Have been with us at Monterey.

This is, or should be, a classic in a genre rare in our literature, whose poets have seldom communicated with martial fire the rapture of the strife or celebrated worthily the achievements of our arms. Bryant wrote a critical sketch for the last edition of Hoffman's poems.

Nathaniel Parker Willis, the most honoured among these literary editors of old New York,[3] began as a sentimental poetizer of Scripture for meek ladies, and then helped to establish a still existing journalistic tradition in our literature—that of the light, the pretty, the clever, the urbane negligee in prose and rhyme; while his *Lady Jane*, a story after *Don Juan* and *Fanny*, and his *Melanie*, after Byron's *Tales*, only too well illustrate the now dead but once potent influence of Byron on our minor poets, even on poets utterly unlike Byron in temperament and in mode of life.[4] Yet Willis was a true poet in a half dozen lyrics where a human form, a bit of nature, or a moral insight is registered in sincere, graceful, dignified, and, at least once (*Unseen Spirits*), noble speech. These, with his brief prose obituary notice of Poe and its tribute to Mrs. Clemm, are higher things than conventional criticism now associates with the brilliant and versatile gentleman of provincial but polished Broadway.

Joseph Rodman Drake (1795–1820) and Fitz-Greene Halleck (1790–1867) are remembered first for a romantic youthful friendship, not common in our literary history. For a time they amused themselves and the town by facile and often pointed skits on contemporary politics, people, and events, under the title Croaker and Co., after the manner of English wits of the time, as Moore and the Smith brothers. Halleck is said to have written the last four lines of Drake's *American Flag*, a lyric full of the old-fashioned expansive and defiant Americanism, and, with its flare of imagery and blare of sound, still sure to stir the blood of any one but a professional critic. And it was on Drake, dead at twenty-five, that Halleck wrote what is the tenderest, the manliest little elegy of personal loss in American literature, beginning with the familiar lines:

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[1] See Book II, Chaps. VII and XX.

[2] Trent, W. P., in *American Literature*, p. 457.

[3] See also Book II, Chap. III.

[4] See Leonard, W. E., *Byron and Byronism in America* (Columbia Univ. Diss.), 1905.

Green be the turf above thee,
Friend of my better days!
None knew thee but to love thee,
Nor named thee but to praise.

Yet they are remembered no less for achievements more noteworthy than those of the other minor men in this sketch. Drake's *Culprit Fay* is the best and in fact the one fairy story in American verse, if we except Bryant's *Sella* and *The Little People of the Snow*, which are indeed rather stories of mortals in fairyland than of the tiny, tricksy creatures themselves. Though in a sense exotic, for it roots in no folklore despite the setting on the Hudson, *The Culprit Fay* reports quite as well as Drayton's *Nimphidia*, its nearest analogue, the antic characteristics of the elfland of man's universal fancy. But it is most remarkable for its reading of nature. The Culprit Fay's adventures take him through woods, waters, and air, on to the stars above, amid the iridescent, elusive, darting, rended, prickly little objects of the real universe that heavy-lidded folk seldom observe. There are also—and this before Bryant's first volume—the American plant, bird, and insect: the chickweed and sassafras, the whippoorwill, the katydid and woodtick. The music, though perhaps influenced by Coleridge, sang itself under the unconscious guidance of a delicate and independent ear—the most striking creative act in American versification up to that time and for some time to come. Of the obvious faults of *The Culprit Fay* it were ungracious to speak; it was the two days' diversion of a very young man, and published posthumously (1835).

Halleck was the one worthy American representative of the contemporary popular English Romanticists, Scott, Campbell, and Byron—worthy, because something of their matter and manner, despite occasional crude imitation, was thoroughly natural to his vigorous feelings, to his alert though not subtle masculine intellect, and to his sounding voice. His Spenserians on *Wyoming* remind one of Campbell and Byron in stanza and phraseology. The still popular *Marco Bozzaris* reminds one of Byron in the enthusiasm for Greek freedom (also the inspiration of some of Bryant's early verse), and of Campbell in martial vigour, while its octosyllabics have the verve of Scott's. In *Alnwick Castle* and several other poems grave and gay are whimsically mixed after Byron's later manner. Indeed Byron, whose works Halleck subsequently edited, was his most kindred spirit. As early as 1819 appeared his *Fanny*, suggested by *Beppo* and in its present form sometimes reminiscent of *Don Juan*—

> With the wickedness out that gave salt to the true one,

as Lowell's *Fable for Critics* observed as late as 1848—a social satire on a flashy New Yorker and his fashionable daughter, with Byronic anti-climax and Byronic digressions on Greece, European and American politics, bad literature and bad statues. But a financial failure was substituted for Byronic *crim.-cons.*, and the bluff and hearty Halleck "was never cynical in his satire, and Byron was"—to quote Bryant,[1] who speaks, however, a truer word for Halleck than for Halleck's master. *Fanny* became at once popular,[2] and remained so for a generation, stimulating to several long since forgotten imitations and doubtless serving to foster American Byronism in its pseudo-comic phases. A detailed study of Halleck would reveal, as the chief source of his genuinely individual note, his power to phrase energetically a single moment of action or of feeling with a certain fusion of imaginative vision and of intellectual criticism. Moreover, Halleck's *Poems*, including such unforgotten titles as *The Field of the Grounded Arms*, *Burns*, and *Red Jacket*, still have some literary value as a volume: the anthologies do not exhaust him.

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[1] Godwin, *Prose*, vol. 1, p. 374.

[2] It was reprinted almost entire in *Specimens of the American Poets*, London, 1822, in which it is called a "sprightly little poem" and "one of the cleverest efforts of the American Muse." The note concludes, however, with a comment that the English edition had not apparently had "a very extensive circulation." Part of its American popularity was due to its purely local allusions.

Thus these early minor men left us some things worth keeping; but, nevertheless, taken all in all, they emphasize for us today, as they never could for their contemporaries, the relative greatness of Bryant.

CHAPTER VI

Fiction I

Brown, Cooper

THE clear victory which the first great British novelists won over popular taste did not, for some years, make them masters of the colonial public. *Pamela*, indeed, was printed as early as 1744 in Philadelphia, by Benjamin Franklin, and in the same year in New York and in Boston. But the only other novels printed in America before the Declaration of Independence seem to have been *Robinson Crusoe* (1768), *Rasselas* (1768), *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1772), *Juliet Grenville* (1774), and *The Works of Laurence Sterne M.A.* (1774). Publishers, however, were less active than importers, for diaries and library catalogues show that British editions were on many shelves. The Southern and Middle colonies may have read more novels than did New England, yet Jonathan Edwards himself, whose savage quarrel with the Northampton congregation had arisen partly over the "licentious books" [possibly *Pamela*, among others] which some of the younger members "employed to promote lascivious and obscene discourse," was later enchanted by *Sir Charles Grandison*.

Edwards did not relent in advance of the general public. After the Revolution the novel-reading habit grew, fostered by American publishers and cried out against by many moralists whose cries appeared in magazines side by side with moral tales. Nearly every grade of sophistication applied itself to the problem. It was contested that novels were lies; that they served no virtuous purpose; that they melted rigorous minds; that they crowded out better books; that they painted adventure too romantic and love too vehement, and so unfitted readers for solid reality; that, dealing with European manners, they tended to confuse and dissatisfy republican youth. In the face of such censure, native novelists appeared late and apologetically, armed for the most part with the triple plea that the tale was true, the tendency heavenward, and the scene devoutly American. Before 1800 the sweeping philippic of the older school had been forced to share the field of criticism with occasional efforts to distinguish good novels from bad. No critical game was more frequently played than that which compared Fielding and Richardson. Fielding got some robust preference, Smollett had his imitators, and Sterne fathered much "sensibility," but until Scott had definitely set a new mode for the world, the potent influence in American fiction was Richardson. The amiable ladies who produced most of these early novels commonly held, like Mrs. Rowson, that their knowledge of life had been "simply gleaned from pure nature,"[1] because they dealt with facts which had come under their own observation, but like other amateurs they saw in nature what art had assured them would be there. Nature and Richardson they found the same. Whatever bias they gave this Richardsonian universe was due to a pervading consciousness of the sex which read their novels. The result was a highly domestic world, limited in outlook, where the talk was of careless husbands, grief for dead children, the peril of many childbirths, the sentiment and the religion which enabled women to endure their sex's destiny. Over all hangs the furious menace of the seducer, who appears in such multitudes that one can defend the age only by blaming its brutality less than the pathetic example of Clarissa Harlowe.

Thus early did the American novel acquire the permanent background of neutral domestic fiction against which the notable figures stand out. A few of the early names have a shade of distinction. Mrs. Sarah Wentworth Morton (1759–1846), a "Lady of Boston," produced the first regular novel, *The Power of Sympathy* (1789). Its two volumes of stilted letters caused a scandal and were promptly suppressed, but they called forth a much better novel, *The Coquette* (1797), by Mrs. Hannah Webster Foster (1759–1840). Based upon the tragic and widely known career of Elizabeth Whitman of Hartford, it saw thirteen editions in forty years, but it was still less popular than Mrs. Susannah Haswell Rowson's *Charlotte* (1794), one of the most popular novels ever published in America. Mrs. Rowson (1762–1824), an American only by immigration, had indeed written the novel in England (1790?), but *Charlotte Temple*, to call it by its later title, was thoroughly naturalized. It has persuaded an increasingly naïve underworld of fiction readers to buy more than a hundred editions and has built up a legend about the not too authentic tomb of Charlotte Stanley in Trinity Churchyard, New York.

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[1] Preface to *Mentoria*.

A particular importance of *The Coquette* and *Charlotte Temple* was that they gave to fiction something of the saga element by stealing, in the company of facts, upon a community which winced at fiction. And this brief garment of illusion was not confined to New York and New England. In 1792–3–7 Pennsylvania saw the publication, in four volumes, of the first part of the remarkable *Modern Chivalry*. The author, Hugh Henry Brackenridge (1748–1816), son of a poor Scotch immigrant, graduate of Princeton, tutor and licensed preacher, master of an academy in Maryland, editor of *The United States Magazine* in Philadelphia (1776), chaplain in the Revolutionary army, author of patriotic tragedies and pamphlets, and lawyer and judge in Pittsburg after 1781, brought to his work a culture and experience which gave his satiric picture of American life many of the features of truth. Farrago, the hero, is a new Don Quixote, his servant Teague a witless and grotesque Sancho Panza, but the chief follies of the book are found not in them but in the public which they encounter and which would gladly make Teague hero and office-holder. No man was a more convinced democrat than Brackenridge, but he was also solid, well-read, and deeply bored by fools who canted about free men and wise majorities. Against such cant and the excesses of political ambition he directed his chief satire, but he let few current fads and affectations go unwhipped. His book had an abundant popularity, especially along the frontier which it satirized. The second part (1804–5), ostensibly the chronicle of a new Western settlement, is almost a comic history of civilization in America. It is so badly constructed, however, and so often goes over ground well trodden in the earlier part as to be generally inferior to it in interest. Here Brackenridge deposited scraps of irony and censure which he had been producing since 1787, when he had set out to imitate *Hudibras*. His prose is better than his verse, plain and simple in style, by his own confession following that of Hume, Swift, and Fielding. Swift was his dearest master. Very curious, if hard to follow, are the successive revisions by which Brackenridge kept pace with new follies.

Smollett had something to do with another novel which, though less read than *Modern Chivalry*, deserves mention with it, *The Algerine Captive* (1797) of Royall Tyler, poet, wit, playwright, and jurist.[1] The first volume has some entertaining though not subtle studies of American manners; the second, a tale of six years' captivity in Algiers, belongs with the many books and pamphlets called forth by the war with Tripoli.[2] Historically important is the preface, which declared that the American taste for novels had grown in the past seven years from apathy to a general demand.

Apparently the time was slowly ripening to the point at which taste begins to support those who gratify it, and it is notable that the first American to make authorship his sole career had already decided for fiction. Charles Brockden Brown came of good Quaker stock long settled in Pennsylvania, where, at Philadelphia, he was born 17 January, 1771. He was a frail, studious child, reputed a prodigy, and encouraged by his parents in that frantic feeding upon books which was expected, in those days, of every American boy of parts. By the time he was sixteen he had made himself a tolerable classical scholar, contemplated three epics—on Columbus, Pizarro, and Cortez—and hurt his health by over-work. As he grew older he read with a hectic, desultory sweep in every direction open to him. With his temper and education, he developed into a hot young philosopher in those days of revolution. He brooded over the maps of remote regions, glowed with eager schemes for perfecting mankind, and dabbled in subterranean lore as an escape from humane Philadelphia. He kept a journal and wrote letters heavy with self-consciousness. Put into a law office by his family, he found that his legal studies only confirmed him in his resolution to be a man of letters. His parents and brothers, who supported him in his adventure, urged him from a path so unpromising, but Brown, though he felt the pressure of their distress, clung stoutly, if gloomily, to the pursuits of literature. He speculated, debated, and wrote for the newspapers. His first identified work, a series of papers called *The Rhapsodist*, which appeared in *The Columbian Magazine*, August–November, 1789, glorified the proud and lonely soul.

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[1] See also Book I, Chap. IX and Book II, Chaps. II and III.

[2] See also Book II, Chap. II.

Little is known of the next few years of his life. In 1793 he seems to have gone to New York to visit his friend Dr. Elihu Hubbard Smith, formerly a medical student in Philadelphia. Removed from the scenes of his old solitude, Brown became less solitary. Smith's friends, among them S. L. Mitchill, James Kent, and William Dunlap, Brown's future biographer, who belonged to a club called the Friendly Society, forced the young misanthrope to cast part of his coat. In 1795, after another visit to New York, he began an unidentified work, apparently speculative but not a romance, to "equal in extent Caleb Williams," a book in which Brown saw "transcendant merits." In spite of the first ardour which had made him sure he could finish his task in six weeks, he lost faith in its moral utility and never got beyond fifty pages, but he had gradually given up Dr. Johnson for Godwin as his model. July, 1796, saw him cease to be even a sleeping partner in his brother's counting house. Thenceforth he was nothing but an author.

The spirit of Godwin stirred eagerly in Brown during the early days of his freedom. Toward the end of 1797 he bore witness by writing *Alcuin*, a dialogue on the rights of women which took its first principles from Mary Wollstonecraft and Godwin. On the last day of December he says he finished a romance which appears to have been *Sky-Walk*, the manuscript of which was lost before it could be published. Early in 1798 he became a contributor to the new Philadelphia *Weekly Magazine*, which contains, among the fragments which always mark Brown's trail, the first two parts of *Alcuin*, called *The Rights of Women*, and nine chapters of *Arthur Mervyn*.[1] He announced *Sky-Walk* 17 March, 1798, in a letter to the *Weekly Magazine* signed "Speratus." In this earliest public statement of his ideals of fiction Brown spoke of the need of native romances and ascribed the "value of such works" to "their moral tendency." Only by displaying characters "of soaring passions and intellectual energy," he believed, could a novelist hope "to enchain the attention and ravish the souls of those who study and reflect." But Brown was too good a democrat to write for geniuses alone. "A contexture of facts capable of suspending the faculties of every soul in curiosity, may be joined with depth of views into human nature and all the subtleties of reasoning."

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[1] Published in 1799, with a second part, 1800.

With these opinions, and his apprenticeship already served, Brown took up his residence in New York during the summer of 1798. In two ardent years, which were more social than any that had gone before, Brown did all his best work. The single month of August served to produce *Wieland*, which made a stir and is still commonly held his masterpiece. The source of its plot has been shown[1] to be, in part, the actual murder of his whole family by a religious fanatic, "Mr. J—— Y——," of Tomhannock, New York, in December, 1781. To this Brown added the mysteries of spontaneous combustion and ventriloquism to make up the "contexture of facts capable of suspending the faculties of every soul in curiosity." These were for the vulgar. The apparent scene of action is laid upon the banks of the Schuylkill; this was patriotism. But the real setting is somewhere in the feverish climate of romantic speculation, and the central interest lies in the strange, unreal creatures "of soaring passions and intellectual energy," Wieland, crushingly impelled to crime by a mysterious voice which, however, but germinates seeds of frenzy already sleeping in his nature, and Carwin, the "biloquist," a villain who sins, not as the old morality had it, because of wickedness, but because of the driving power of the spirit of evil which no man can resist and from which only the weak are immune. These were cases of speculative pathology which Brown had met in his morbid twilights, beings who had for him the reality he knew best, that of dream and passion. It is the fever in the climate which lends the book, in spite of awkward narrative, strained probabilities, and a premature solution, its shuddering power. Here at least Brown was absorbed in his subject; here at least he gave a profound unity of effect never equalled in his later works.

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[1] Van Doren, C., *Early American Realism*, *Nation*, 12 Nov., 1914.

Close upon this August followed the plague in New York. Brown was then living with Dr. Smith in Pine Street, and Smith, firm in the opinion that yellow fever could not be contagious, insisted upon taking into the house a stricken young Italian. Of the three only Brown escaped death. He thus came hand-to-hand with a hard reality, and, like other men of many dreams and few experiences, was deeply impressed by it. The effect upon his work, however, of this month of pestilence may be easily overstated. Five years before, Brown's family had left Philadelphia for a time to escape the great plague of 1793, and Brown had put memories of that visitation into *The Man at Home*, in *The Weekly Magazine*, and the earliest chapters of *Arthur Mervyn*, both written before his removal to New York. Curiously enough, the Dr. Stevens of the novel, by his hospitality to Mervyn, behaves much as did the Dr. Smith of reality, but invention was before fact. And when, in December, 1798, Brown wrote *Ormond* (1799), he not only laid his scene in Philadelphia in 1793, but he borrowed a whole chapter from *The Man at Home*. What the plague had been to Brown in 1793 it remained: a chapter in the annals of his native city, mysterious, the stuff of passion, and therefore fully congenial to his temper and ideals of art. He used it with sombre and memorable detail, as a background for mental or social ills.

It is characteristic of Brown that, while two of his notable romances recall his most vivid personal experience, all four of them wear the colours of *Caleb Williams*. From Godwin, Brown had his favourite subject, virtue in distress, and his favourite set of characters, a patron and a client. Perhaps he comes nearest to his master in *Ormond*. Constantia Dudley won the passionate regard of Shelley, to whom she was the type of virtuous humanity oppressed by evil customs. She is Brown's picture of feminine perfection, learned, self-reliant, pure, priggish. Ormond is quite clearly the child of romance and revolution, a hero who is a villain, a creature of nature who is the master of many destinies, a free will which must act as the agent of inevitable malice. All this seems pure Godwin, but it has a certain spirit of youth and ardour which Godwin lacked. In *Arthur Mervyn* the hero has to undergo less than the cumulative agony of Caleb Williams, for the simple reason that

Brown worked too violently to be able to organize a scheme of circumstances all bearing upon a single victim. At least in the second part of the book, the plot frays helplessly into flying ends which no memory can hold together, and the characters and "moral tendency" of a story rich in incident suffer a sad confusion. Brown was no match for Godwin in the art of calm and deliberate narrative, partly because of his vehement methods of work, partly because he lacked Godwin's finished and consistent philosophy of life. The leaven of rationalism stirs in his work, but it does not, as with Godwin, pervade the mass.

Passion, not hard conviction, gives Brown his positive qualities. He had a power in keeping up suspense which no clumsiness could destroy. In presenting the physical emotions of danger and terror he had a kind of ghoulish force. Without the deftness to get full value from his material, he had still a sharp eye for what was picturesque or dramatic. In *Edgar Huntly*, for which Brown was considerably indebted to the memory of *Sky-Walk*, he made notable use of that pioneer life which was to bulk so large in American fiction for half a century. His preface repeats his earlier plea, as "Speratus," for native matter in native fiction. From that ideal he never swerved. The plague, Wieland's frenzy, Queen Mab in *Edgar Huntly*,—these he had studied from the facts as he knew them. That his books are not more realistic proves merely that he was a romancer interested primarily in ideas and abstruse mental states which he saw with his eyes closed. "Sir," he told prying John Davis, "good pens, thick paper, and ink well diluted, would facilitate my composition more than the prospect of the broadest expanse of clouds, water, or mountains rising above the clouds." But when Brown opened his eyes he always saw Pennsylvania. His strangest supernaturalisms, too, turn out in the end to have rested on acts of nature which science can explain. It was his characters he romanticized. He saw in man a dignity which only the days of hopeful revolution can bestow, and he was thus urged to study souls with a passion which took him past the outward facts of humanity to a certain essential truth which gives him, among his contemporaries, his special virtue.

In April, 1799, Brown began to edit *The Monthly Magazine* in New York and so entered the decade of journalism which closed his life. He wrote, indeed, besides fragments of fiction, two other novels, *Clara Howard* (1801) and *Jane Talbot* (1801), but they lack his old vigour. In *Jane Talbot* he seemed to renounce Godwin; gradually he became subdued to humanity and lost his concern with romance. He returned to Philadelphia in 1801, where, two years later, he founded *The Literary Magazine*. The stolid orthodoxy of his prospectus makes it clear that he was no longer a philosopher of the old stamp, although he did write two acts of a tragedy for John Bernard, and, told the play would not act, burned the work and kept its ashes in a snuff-box. In November, 1804, he married Miss Elizabeth Linn of New York, and was thereafter an exemplary husband, father, and drudge, who produced pamphlets, large parts of his magazine, and practically the whole of the useful *American Register* (1807–11). The fame of his novels, of which he claimed to think little, became a legend, but new editions were not called for. In 1809 he was elected to honorary membership in the New York Historical Society, with such notables as Lindley Murray, Noah Webster, Benjamin Trumbull, Timothy Dwight, Josiah Quincy, and George Clinton. He died of consumption 19 February, 1810. In England he was well known for at least a generation. *Blackwood's* praised him with the fiery pen of John Neal; Scott borrowed from him the names of two characters in *Guy Mannering;* Godwin himself owed to *Wieland* a hint for *Mandeville.* In his native country Brown has stood, with occasional flickerings of interest, firmly fixed as a literary ancestor.

There is little to note in American fiction between the close of Brown's career and the beginning of Cooper's. An absurd romance, *The Asylum* (1811), probably by Isaac Mitchell, was popular. Tabitha Tenny (1762–1837) produced a funny if robustious anti-romance, *Female Quixotism* (1808?); Samuel Woodworth[1] mingled conventional history with conventional romance in *The Champions of Freedom* (1816), which celebrated the second war with England. By this time the humane and thrilling art of Scott had already begun to be effective in America, as in Europe. At the first, however, Scott's peculiar qualities seemed to defy rivalry.

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[1] See also Book II, Chaps. II and V.

> "Of native *novels*," said John Bristed in 1818, "we have no great stock, and none good; our democratic institutions placing all the people on a dead level of political equality; and the pretty equal diffusion of property throughout the country affords but little room for varieties, and contrasts of character; nor is there much scope for fiction, as the country is quite new, and all that has happened from the first settlement to the present hour, respecting it, is known to every one. There is, to be sure, some traditionary romance about the Indians; but a novel describing these miserable barbarians, their squaws, and papooses, would not be very interesting to the present race of American readers."[1]

America, that is, without aristocracy, antiquity, and a romantic border, could not have a Scott. Seldom has time contradicted a prophet so fully and so soon as when Cooper, within three years, began to show that democracy has its contrasts, that two hundred years can be called a kind of antiquity, and that the border warfare between pioneer and Indian is one of the great chapters in the world's romance.

The task weighed less upon Cooper than it might had he been from boyhood at all bookish or, when he began his career, either scholar or conscious man of letters. But, unlike Brown, he had been trained in the world. Born at Burlington, New Jersey, 15 September, 1789, the son of Judge William Cooper and Susan Fenimore, James Cooper[2] was taken in November, 1790, to Cooperstown, the raw central village of a pioneer settlement recently established by his father on Otsego Lake, New York. Here the boy saw at first hand the varied life of the border, observed its shifts and contrivances, listened to tales of its adventures, and learned to feel the mystery of the dark forest which lay beyond the cleared circle of his own life. Judge Cooper, however, was less a typical backwoodsman than a kind of warden of the New York marches, like Judge Templeton in *The Pioneers*, and he did not keep his son in the woods but sent him, first to the rector of St. Peter's in Albany, who grounded him in Latin and hatred of Puritans, and then to Yale, where he wore his college duties so lightly as to be dismissed in his third year. Thinking the navy might furnish better discipline than Yale, Judge Cooper shipped his son before the mast on a merchant vessel to learn the art of seamanship which there was then no naval academy to teach. His first ship, the *Sterling*, sailed from New York in October, 1806, for Falmouth and London, thence to Cartagena, back to London, and once more to America in September of the following year. They were chased by pirates and stopped by searching parties, incidents Cooper never forgot. In January, 1808, he was commissioned midshipman. He served for a time on the *Vesuvius*, and later in the same year was sent with a party to Lake Ontario to build the brig *Oneida* for service against the British on inland waters. He visited Niagara, commanded for a time on Lake Champlain, and in November, 1809, was ordered to the *Wasp*. In the natural course of events he would have fought in the War of 1812, but, having been married in January, 1811, to Miss Susan Augusta DeLancey, he resigned his commission the following May and gave up all hope of a naval career.

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[1] *The Resources of the United States*, 1818, pp. 355–6.

[2] The family name was changed to Fenimore-Cooper by act of legislature in April, 1826. Cooper soon dropped the hyphen.

Thus at twenty-two he exchanged a stirring youth for the quiet, if happy, life of a country proprietor. He spent the next eleven years, except for a stay at Cooperstown (1814–17), in his wife's native county of Westchester, New York. There, in a manner quite casual, he began his real work. His wife challenged him to make good his boast that he could write a better story than an English novel he was reading to her. He attempted it and wrote *Precaution* (1820), which, as might have been expected from a man who, in spite of a juvenile romance and a few doggerel verses, was little trained in authorship, is a highly conventional novel. Its scene is laid in England, and no quality is more notable than stiff elegance and painful piety. Cooper was dissatisfied with his book. "Ashamed to have fallen into the track of imitation, I endeavoured to repay the wrong done to my own views, by producing a work that should be purely American, and of which love of country should be the theme."[1] He chose for his hero a spy who had served John Jay during the Revolution, according to Jay's own account, with singular purity of motive. The work was carelessly done and published at the author's risk, and yet with the appearance of *The Spy* (22 December, 1821), American fiction may be said to have come of age.

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[1] *A Letter to his Countrymen*, 1834, p. 98.

This stirring tale has been, for many readers, an important factor in the tradition which national piety and the old swelling rhetoric have built up around the Revolution. The share of historical fact in it, indeed, is not large, but the action takes place so near to great events that the characters are all invested with something of the dusky light of heroes, while the figure of Washington moves among them like an unsuspected god. Such a quality in the novel might have gone with impossible partiality for the Americans had not Cooper's wife belonged to a family which had been loyal during the struggle for independence. As it was, he made his loyalists not necessarily knaves and fools, and so secured a fairness of tone which, aside from all questions of justice, has a large effect upon the art of the narrative. It is clear the British are enemies worth fighting. Perhaps by chance, Cooper here hit upon a type of plot at which he excelled, a struggle between contending forces, not badly matched, arranged as a pursuit in which the pursued are, as a rule, favoured by author and reader. In the management of such a device Cooper's invention, which was great, worked easily, and the flights of Birch from friend and foe alike exhibit a power to carry on plots with sustained sweep which belongs only to the masters of narration. To rapid movement Cooper added the virtues of a very real setting. He knew Westchester and its sparse legends as Scott knew the Border; his topography was drawn with a firm hand. In his characters he was not uniformly successful. Accepting for women the romantic ideals of the day and writing of events in which, of necessity, ladies could play but a small part, Cooper tended to cast his heroines, as even that day remarked, into a conventional mould of helplessness and decorum. With the less sheltered classes of women he was much more truthful. Of his men, too, the gentlemen are likely to be mere heroes, though Lawton is an interesting dragoon, while those of a lower order have more marked characteristics. Essentially memorable and arresting is Harvey Birch, peddler and patriot, outwardly no hero at all and yet surpassingly heroic of soul. The skill with which Birch is presented, gaunt, weather-beaten, canny, mysterious—a skill which Brown lacked—should not make one overlook the half-supernatural spirit of patriotism which, like the daemonic impulses in Brown's characters, drives Birch to his destiny at once wrecking and honouring him. This romantic fate also condemns him to be sad and lonely, a dedicated soul who captures attention by his secrecy and holds it throughout his career by his adventures. No character in American historical fiction has been able to obscure this first great character, whose fame has outlasted every fashion for almost a century.

With *The Spy* Cooper proved his power to invent situations, conduct a plot, vivify history and landscape, and create a certain type of heroic character. His public success was instant. The novel reached a third edition the following March; it was approved on the stage; European readers accepted it with enthusiasm. Pleased, though perhaps surprised, at this reception of his work, Cooper threw himself into the new career thus offered him with characteristic energy. He removed to New York and hurried forward the composition of *The Pioneers*, which appeared in February, 1823, with Cooper's first bumptious preface. Technically this book made no advance upon *The Spy*. Cooper had but one method, improvisation, and the absence of any very definite pursuit deprives *The Pioneers*, though it has exciting moments, of general suspense. But it is important as his first trial at the realistic presentation of manners in America. Dealing as he did with the Otsego settlement where his boyhood had been spent, and with a time (1793) within his memory, he could write largely from the fact. Whatever romance there is in the story lies less in its plot, which is relatively simple, or in its characters, which are, for the most part, studied under a dry light with a good deal of caustic judgment, than in the essential wonder of a pioneer life. The novel is not as heroic as *The Spy* had been. Indian John, the last of his proud race, is old and broken, corrupted by the settlements; only his death dignifies him. Natty Bumppo, a composite from many Cooperstown memories, is nobler because he has not yielded but carries his virtues, which even in Cooper's boyhood were becoming archaic along the frontier, into the deeper forest. Natty stands as a protest, on behalf of simplicity and perfect freedom, against encroaching law and order. In *The Pioneers*, however, he is not yet of the proportions which he later assumed, and only at the end, when he withdraws from the field of his defeat by civilization, does he make his full appeal. Cooper may have felt that there were still possibilities in the character, but for the present he did not try to realize them. Instead, he undertook to surpass Scott's *Pirate* in seamanship and produced *The Pilot*, issued in January, 1824.[1] With this third success he practically ended his experimental stage. Like *The Spy*, his new tale made use of a Revolutionary setting; like *The Pioneers*, it was full of realistic detail based on Cooper's own experience. The result was that he not only outdid Scott in sheer narrative, but he created a new literary type, the tale of adventure on the sea, in which, though he was to have many followers in almost every modern language, he remains unsurpassed for vigour and variety. Smollett had already discovered the racy humours of seamen, but it remained for Cooper to capture for fiction the mystery and beauty, the shock and thrill of the sea. Experts say that his technical knowledge was sound; what is more important, he wrote, in *The Pilot*, a story about sailing vessels which convinces landsmen even in days of steam. The conventional element in the novel is its hero, John Paul Jones, secret, Byronic, always brooding upon a dark past and a darker fate. Thoroughly original is that worthy successor of Birch and Natty Bumppo, Long Tom Coffin, who lives and dies by the sea which has made him, as love of country made the spy and the forest made the old hunter.

Cooper had now become a national figure, although critical judgment in New England condescended to him. He founded the Bread and Cheese Club in New York, a literary society of which he was the moving spirit; he took a prominent part in the reception of Lafayette in 1824; in the same year Columbia College gave him the honorary degree of Master of Arts. He planned a series of *Legends of the Thirteen Republics*, aimed to celebrate each of the original states, which he gave up after the first, *Lionel Lincoln* (1825), for all his careful research failed to please as his earlier novels had done. During the next two years Cooper reached probably the highest point of his career in *The Last of the Mohicans* (February, 1826) and *The Prairie* (May, 1827). His own interest and the persuasion of his friends led him to continue the adventures of Natty Bumppo, and very naturally he undertook to show both the days of Natty's prime and his final fortunes. In each case Cooper projects the old hunter out of the world of remembered Otsego, into the dark forest which was giving up its secrets in 1793, or into the mighty prairies which Cooper had not seen but which stretched, in his mind's eye, for endless miles beyond the forest, another mystery and another refuge. Natty, called Hawkeye in *The Last of the Mohicans*, no longer has the hardness which marred his age in *The Pioneers*. With all his virtues of hand and head he combines a nobility of spirit which the woods have fostered in a mind never spoiled by men. He grows nobler as he grows more remote, more the poet and hero as the world in which he moves becomes more wholly his own. Chingachgook has undergone even a greater change, has got back all the cunning and pride which had been deadened in Indian John. But Hawkeye and Chingachgook are both limited by their former appearance; one must still be the canny reasoner, the other a little saddened with passing years. The purest romance of the tale lies in Uncas, the forest's youngest son, gallant, swift, courteous, a lover for whom there is no hope, the last of the Mohicans. That Uncas was idealized Cooper was ready to admit; Homer, he suggested, had his heroes. And it is clear that upon Uncas were bestowed some of the virtues which the philosophers of the age had taught the world to find in a state of nature. Still, after a century, many smile upon the state of nature who are yet able to find in Uncas the perennial appeal of youth cut off in the flower. The action and setting of the novel are on the same high plane as the characters. The forest, in which all the events take place, surrounds them with a changeless majesty that sharpens, by contrast, the restless sense of danger. Pursuit makes almost the whole plot. The pursued party moving from Fort Edward to Fort William Henry has two girls to handicap its flight and to increase the tragedy of capture. Later the girls have been captured, and sympathy passes, a thing unusual in Cooper, to the pursuing rescuers. In these tasks Hawkeye and the Mohicans are opposed by the fierce capacity of Magua, who plays villain to Uncas's hero, in moral qualities Uncas's opposite. There is never any relaxation of suspense, and the scene in which Uncas reveals himself to the Delawares is one of the most thrilling moments in fiction.

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[1] But dated 1823.

The Prairie has less swiftness than *The Last of the Mohicans* but more poetry. In it Natty appears again, twenty years older than in *The Pioneers*, far away on the plains beyond the Mississippi. He owns his defeat and he still grieves over the murdered forest, but he has given up anger for the peace of old age. To him it seems that all his virtues are gone. Once valiant he must now be crafty; his arms are feeble; his eyes have so far failed him that, no longer the perfect marksman, he has sunk to the calling of a trapper. There is a pathos in his resignation which would be too painful were it not merely a phase of his grave and noble wisdom. He is more than ever what Cooper called him, "a philosopher of the wilderness." The only change is that he has left the perils and delights of the forest and has been subdued to the eloquent monotony of the plains. Nowhere else has Cooper shown such sheer imaginative power as in his handling of this mighty landscape. He had never seen a prairie; indeed, it is clear that he thought of a prairie as an ocean of land and described it partly by analogy. But he managed to endow the huge empty distances he had not seen with a presence as haunting as that of the populous forest he had known in his impressionable youth. And the old trapper, though he thinks of himself as an exile, has learned the secrets of the new nature and belongs to it. It is his knowledge that makes him essential to the action, which is again made up of flight and pursuit. Once more there are girls to be rescued, from white men as well as from Indians. There is another Magua in Mahtoree, another Uncas in the virtuous Hard-Heart. The Indians ride horses and are thus more difficult to escape than the Hurons had been. The flat prairies give fewer places of concealment. But the trapper is as ready as ever with new arts, and the flight ends as romance prescribes. The final scene, the death of the trapper in the arms of his young friends, is very touching and fine, yet reticently handled. For the most part, the minor characters, the lovers and the pedant, are not new to Cooper and are not notable. The family of Ishmael Bush, the squatter, however, make up a new element. They have been forced out of civilization by its virtues, as the trapper by its vices. They have strength without nobility and activity without wisdom. Except when roused, they are as sluggish as a prairie river, and like it they appear muddy and aimless.

Ishmael Bush always conveys the impression of terrific forces lying vaguely in ambush. His wife is nearly the most memorable figure among Cooper's women. She clings to her mate and cubs with a tigerish instinct that leaves her, when she has lost son and brother and retreats in a vast silent grief, still lingering in the mind, an inarticulate prairie Hecuba.

Possibly the novel owes some of its depth of atmosphere to the fact that it was finished in France and that Cooper was thus looking back upon his subject through a mist of regret. He had sailed for Europe with his family in June, 1826, to begin a foreign residence of more than seven years which had a large effect upon his later life and work. He found his books well known and society at large disposed to make much of him. In Paris he fraternized with Scott, who enjoyed and praised his American rival. Parts of his stay were in England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, which delighted and astonished him, and Italy, which he loved. Most of his time, however, he passed at Paris, charmed with a gayer and more brilliant society than he could have known before. He did not cease to write. In January, 1828, he repeated the success of *The Pilot* with another sea tale, *The Red Rover*, which has always held a place among the most favoured of his books. The excitement is less sustained than in *The Pilot*, but portions of the narrative, notably those dealing with storms, are tremendous. The ocean here plays as great a part as Cooper had lately assigned to the prairie. One voices the calm of nature, one its tumult; both tend to the discipline of man. In 1829 he fared better than with *Lionel Lincoln* in another historical tale of New England, *The Wept of Wish-ton-Wish*, an episode of King Philip's War. It is a powerful novel, irregular and ungenial, not only because the Puritans represented were themselves unlovely, but because Cooper had an evident dislike for them which coloured all their qualities. This was followed in the next year by *The Water-Witch*, which Cooper thought his most imaginative book. It has a spirited naval battle, but it flatly failed to localize a supernatural legend in New York harbour.

Novels were not Cooper's whole concern during his years in Europe. Unabashedly, outspokenly American, he had secured from Henry Clay the post of consul at Lyons, that he might not seem, during his travels, a man without a country.

As consul, though his position was purely nominal, he felt called upon to resent the ignorance everywhere shown by Europeans regarding his native land, and he set out upon the task of educating them to better views. Cooper was not Franklin. His *Notions of the Americans* (1828), while full of information and a rich mine of American opinion for that day, was too obviously partisan to convince those at whom it was aimed. Its proper audience was homesick Americans. He indulged, too, in some controversy at Paris over the relative cost of French and American government which pleased neither nation. Finally, he applied his art to the problem and wrote three novels "in which American opinion should be brought to bear on European facts."[1] That is, in *The Bravo* (1831), *The Heidenmauer* (1832), and *The Headsman* (1833) he meant to show by proper instances the superiority of democracy to aristocracy as regards general happiness and justice. He claimed to be writing for his countrymen alone, some of whom must have been thrilled to come across a passage like "a fairer morning never dawned upon the Alleghanies than that which illumined the Alps," but he was not sufficiently master of his material, however stout and just his opinions, to make even *The Bravo*, the best of the three, as good as his pioneer romances.

Before he returned to New York in November, 1833, he was warned by his friend S. F. B. Morse that he would be disappointed. Cooper found himself, in fact, fatally cosmopolitan in the republic he had been justifying for seven years. Always critical, he sought to qualify too sweeping praise of America precisely as he had qualified too sweeping censure in Europe. But he had not learned tact while becoming a citizen of the world, and he soon angered the public he had meant to set right. The result was the long and dreary wrangling which clouded the whole remainder of his life and has obscured his fame almost to the present day. If he had attended the dinner planned in his honour on his return, he might have found his welcome warmer than he thought it. If he had been an observer keen enough, he would have seen that the new phases of democracy which he disliked were in part a gift to the old seaboard of that very frontier of which he had been painter and annalist. But he did not see these things, and so he carried on a steady fight, almost always as right in his contentions as he was wrong-headed in his manner. From Cooperstown, generally his residence, except for a few winters in New York, to the end of his life, he lectured and scolded. His *Letter to his Countrymen* (1834), stating his position, and *The Monikins* (1835), an unbelievably dull satire, were the first fruits of his quarrel. He followed these with five books dealing with his European travels and constantly irritating to the people of both continents. He indulged in a heated altercation with his fellow townsmen over some land which they thought theirs, although it was certainly his. In 1838 he published a fictitious record, *Homeward Bound* and its sequel *Home as Found*, of the disappointment of some Americans who return from Europe and find America what Cooper had recently found it. He proclaimed his political principles in *The American Democrat* (1838). Most important of all, he declared war upon the newspapers of New York and went up and down the state suing those that had libelled him. He won most of the suits, but though he silenced his opponents he had put his fame into the hands of persons who, unable to abuse, could at least neglect him.

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[1] *A Letter to his Countrymen*, p. 12.

His solid *History of the Navy of the United States of America* (1839) turned his attention once more to naval affairs, with which he busied himself during much of his remaining career. He wrote *Lives of Distinguished American Naval Officers* (1842–5), and *Ned Myers* (1843), the life of a common sailor who had been with him on the *Sterling*. The *History* led to a furious legal battle, but generally Cooper left his quarrels behind him when he went upon the sea. As a cosmopolitan, he seemed to feel freer out of sight of land, on the public highway of the nations. His novels of this period, however, are uneven in merit. *The Two Admirals* (1842) contains one of his best naval battles; *Wing-and-Wing* (1842) ranks high among his sea tales, richly romantic and glowing with the splendours of the Mediterranean. *Mercedes of Castile* (1840) has little interest beside that essential to the first voyage of Columbus. The two parts of *Afloat and Ashore* (1844), dealing powerfully as they do with the evils of impressment, are notable chiefly for sea fights and chases. *Jack Tier* (1846–8) is a lurid piratical tale of the Mexican War; *The Crater* (1847) does poorly what *Robinson Crusoe* does supremely; *The Sea Lions* (1849) has the distinction of marking the highest point in that religious bigotry which pervades Cooper's later novels as thoroughly as the carping spirit which kept him always alert for a chance to take some fling at his countrymen.

The real triumph of his later years was that he wrote, in the very midst of his hottest litigation, *The Pathfinder* (March, 1840) and *The Deerslayer* (August, 1841). One realizes, in reading them, that the forest more than the ocean was for Cooper a romantic sanctuary, as it was for Pathfinder the true temple, full of the "holy calm of nature," the teacher of beauty, virtue, laws. Returning to these solemn woods, Cooper was subdued once more to the spirit which had attended his first great days. The fighting years through which he had passed had left him both more mellow and more critical than at first. During the same time he had gone far enough from the original character of Leather-Stocking to become aware of traits which should be brought out or explained. It was too late to make his hero entirely consistent for the series, but Cooper apparently saw the chance to fill out the general outline, and he did it with such skill that those who read the five novels in the order of events will notice relatively few discrepancies, since *The Deerslayer* prepares for nearly all that follows. In *The Pathfinder*, undertaken to show Natty in love and to combine the forest and a ship in the same tale, Cooper was at some pains to point out how Pathfinder's candour, self-reliance, justice, and fidelity had been developed by the life he had led in the forest. Leather-Stocking, indeed, does not seem more conscious of these special gifts, but Cooper does. Still there is abundant action, another flight through the woods, a storm on Lake Ontario, a siege at a blockhouse. Chingachgook, unchanged, is with Pathfinder, who varies from his earlier character in little but his love for a young girl whom he finally surrenders to a more suitable lover. His love affair threatens for a moment to domesticate Natty, but the sacrifice restores him to his old solitude.

In the final book of the series, *The Deerslayer*, Cooper performed with full success the hard task of representing the scout in the fresh morning of his youth. Love appears too in this story, but Deerslayer, unable to love a girl who has been corrupted by the settlements, turns to the forest with his best devotion. The book is the tale of his coming of age.

Already a hunter, he kills his first man and thus enters the long career which lies before him. That career, however, had already been traced by Cooper, and the distress with which Deerslayer realizes that he has human blood on his hands becomes immeasurably eloquent. It gives the figure of the man almost a new dimension; one remembers the many deaths Natty has yet to deal. In other matters he is near his later self, for he starts life with a steady philosophy which, through all the many experiences of *The Deerslayer*, keeps him to the end as simple and honourable as at the outset.

The novel is thus an epitome of the whole career of the most memorable character American fiction has given to the world. Leather-Stocking is very fully drawn; Cooper's failure to write a sixth novel, as he at one time planned, which should show Natty in the Revolution, may be taken as a sign that he felt, however unconsciously, that the picture was finished. It is hard, indeed, to see how he could have added to the scout without taking something from the spy. More important still, the virtue of patriotism, if carried to the pitch that must have been demanded for that hero in that day, would surely have been a little alien to the cool philosopher of the woods. Justice, not partisanship, is Leather-Stocking's essential trait. In him Cooper exhibited, even better than he knew, his special idea that human character can be brought to a noble proportion and perfection in the school of pure nature. Now this idea, generally current in Cooper's youth, had an effect upon the Leather-Stocking tales of the greatest moment. Because their hero, as the natural man, had too simple a soul to call for minute analysis, it was necessary for Cooper to show him moving through a long succession of events aimed to test the firmness of his virtues. There was thus produced the panorama of the American frontier which, because of Cooper's incomparable fusion of strangeness and reality, at once became and has remained the classic record of an heroic age.

He wrote more border tales before his death. *Wyandotte* (1843) deals largely with the siege of a blockhouse near the upper Susquehanna, and *The Oak-Openings* (1848), the fruit of a journey which he made to the West in 1847, is a tale of bee hunting and Indian fighting on the shores of Lake Michigan. Full of border material, too, is the trilogy of *Littlepage Manu-*

scripts, *Satanstoe* (1845), *The Chainbearer* (1846), and *The Redskins* (1846). Having tried the autobiographical method with Miles Wallingford in *Afloat and Ashore*, Cooper now repeated it through three generations of a New York family. In the last he involved himself unduly in the question of anti-rentism and produced a book both fantastic and dull; the second is better by one of Cooper's most powerful figures, the squatter Thousandacres, another Titan of the brood of Ishmael Bush; the first, if a little beneath Cooper's best work, is so only because he was somewhat rarely at his best. No other novel, by Cooper or any other, gives so firm and convincing a picture of colonial New York. Even Cooper has no more exciting struggle than that of Corny Littlepage with the icy Hudson. But the special virtue of *Satanstoe* is a quality Cooper nowhere else displays, a positive winsomeness in the way Littlepage unfolds his memories (now sweetened by many years) and his humorous crotchets in the same words. There are pages which read almost like those of some vigorous Galt or Goldsmith. Unfortunately, Cooper did not carry this vein further. His comedy *Upside Down*, produced at Burton's Theatre, New York, 18 June, 1850, was a failure, and his last novel, *The Ways of the Hour* (1851), lacks every charm of manner. With his family and a few friends he lived his latter days in honour and affection, but he held the public at a sour distance and before his death, 14 September, 1851, set his face against a reconciliation even in the future by forbidding any biography to be authorized. The published facts of his life still leave his personality less known to the general world than that of any American writer of equal rank.

This might be somewhat strange, since Cooper was lavish of intrusions into his novels, were it not that he wrote himself down, when he spoke in his own person, not only a powerful and independent man, but a scolding, angry man, and thus made his most revealing novels his least read ones. One thinks of Scott, who, when he shows himself most, wins most love. The difference further characterizes the two men. In breadth of sympathies, humanity, geniality, humour, Cooper is less than Scott. He himself, in his review of Lockhart, said that Scott's great ability lay in taking a legend or historical episode, which Scotland furnished in splendid profusion, and reproducing it with marvellous grace and tact. "This faculty of creating a *vraisemblance*, is next to that of a high invention, in a novelist." It is clear that Cooper felt his own inferiority to Scott in "creating a *vraisemblance*" and that he was always conscious of the relative barrenness of American life; it is also tolerably clear that he himself aimed at what he thought the higher quality of invention. Cooper's invention, indeed, was not without a solid basis; he is not to be neglected as an historian. No man better sums up in literature the spirit of that idealistic, irascible, pugnacious, somewhat crude, and half aristocratic older democracy which established the United States. No one fixed the current heroic traditions of his day more firmly to actual places. No one else supplied so many facts to the great legend of the frontier. Fact no less than fiction underlies the character which, for all time, Cooper gave to the defeated race of red men, who, no longer a menace as they had been to the first settlers, could now take their place in the world of the imagination, sometimes idealized, as in Uncas and Hard-Heart, but more often credibly imperfect and uncivilized. It was his technical knowledge of ships and sailors which led Cooper to write sea tales, a province of romance in which he still takes rank, among many followers, as teacher and master of them all. True, Cooper had not Scott's resources of historical learning to fall back upon when his invention flagged, any more than he had Scott's resources of good-nature when he became involved in argument; but when, as in the Leather-Stocking tales, his invention could move most freely, it did unaided what Scott, with all his subsidiary qualities, could not outdo. This is to credit Cooper with an invention almost supreme among romancers. Certainly it is difficult to explain why, with all his faults of clumsiness, prolixity, conventional characterization, and ill temper, he has been the most widely read American author, unless he is to be called one of the most impressive and original.

CHAPTER VII

Fiction II

CONTEMPORARIES OF COOPER

IT is mere coincidence that Cooper was born in the year which produced *The Power of Sympathy* and that when he died *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was passing through its serial stage, and yet the limits of his life mark almost exactly the first great period of American fiction. Paulding, Thompson, Neal, Kennedy, Simms, Melville, to mention no slighter figures, outlived him, but not, as a current fashion, the type of romance which had flourished under Cooper. Although by 1851 tales of adventure had begun to seem antiquated, they had rendered a large service to the course of literature: they had removed the stigma, for the most part, from the word novel. For the brutal scrapes of eighteenth-century fiction the new romance had substituted deeds of chivalrous daring; it had supplanted blunt fleshliness by a chaste and courtly love, and had tended to cure amorous sentimentalism by placing love below valour in the scale of virtues. Familiar life, tending to sordidness, had been succeeded by remote life, generally idealized; historical detail had been brought in to teach readers who were being entertained. Cooper, like Scott, was more elevated than Fielding and Smollett, more realistic than the Gothic romancers, more humane than Godwin or Brown. The two most common charges against the older fiction, that it pleased wickedly and that it taught nothing, had broken down before the discovery, except in illiberal sects, that the novel is fitted both for honest use and for pleasure.

In Europe, at Cooper's death, a new vogue of realism had begun, but America still had little but romance. With so vast and mysterious a hinterland free to any one who might come to take it, novelists, like farmers, were less prompt in America than in Europe to settle down to cultivate intensively known fields. There is a closer analogy, indeed, between the geographic and the imaginative frontier of the United States than has been pointed out. As the first advanced, thin, straggling, back from the Atlantic, over the Alleghanies, down the Ohio, beyond the Mississippi, across the Great Plains and the Rockies to the Pacific, the other followed, also thin and straggling but with an incessant purpose to find out new territories over which the imagination could play and to claim them for its own. "Until now," wrote Cooper in 1828, "the Americans have been tracing the outline of their great national picture. The work of filling up has just seriously commenced." He had in mind only the physical process, but his image applies as well to that other process in which he was the most effective pioneer. Two years after his death the outline of the national picture, at least of contiguous territory, was established, and the nation gave itself to the problem of occupation. In fiction, too, after the death of Cooper the main tendency for nearly a generation was away from the conquest of new borders to the closer cultivation, east of the Mississippi, of ground already marked.

As late as 1825 Jared Sparks thought ten American novels a striking output for one year, but during the second quarter of the century Cooper had many helpers in his great task. In New England Neal, Miss Sedgwick, Mrs. Child, and D. P. Thompson had already set outposts before Hawthorne came to capture that section for classic ground. Paulding and Hoffman assisted Cooper in New York, and Paulding took Swedish Delaware for himself; for Pennsylvania Bird was Brown's chief successor; Maryland had Kennedy; Virginia, without many native novels, began to undergo, in the hands of almost every romancer who dealt with the founders of the republic, that idealization which has made it, especially since the Civil War, the most romantic of American states; South Carolina passed into the pages of Simms; Georgia and the lower South brought forth a school of native humorists who abounded in the truth as well as in the fun of that border;[1] the Mississippi and the Ohio advanced to a place in the imagination with the Hudson, the Susquehanna, the Potomac, and the James. North of the Ohio romance achieved relatively little, but on the southern bank Kentucky, "Dark and Bloody Ground," rivalled its mother Virginia. Bird ventured into Mexico at a time when Irving and Prescott were writing romantic histories of the Spanish discovery and conquest. Melville, the most original and perennial of Cooper's contemporaries, concerned himself with the wonders of the Pacific and the deeds of Yankee whalers. Some of these novels dealt with contemporary life, but the large majority used history to lend depth to the picture which was being filled in. This was the age during which there grew up the heroic conceptions of the first settlements and of the Revolution which still prevail; the novelists stand side by side with the orators and the popular biographers in the creation of those powerful legends. Crude style and bombastic characters abound, but so do great vigour and idealism. Although such romances do not present a solid record of actual life in America at the time they were written, they offer important evidence regarding the life of the imagination, its aims, methods, and conventions, as it existed in those formative years.

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[1] See Book II, Chap. XIX.

The first confessed follower of Cooper, it seems, began his career on other models. John Neal (1793–1870), a native of Maine, was in Baltimore when *The Spy* appeared, engaged in the production of four long novels in six or seven months. Full of a history of the Revolution on which he had been working, he was fired by Cooper's example to write *Seventy-Six* (1823) with incredible rapidity. The work, however, is little more like Cooper than the three which had preceded it, *Logan* (1822), *Randolph* (1823), and *Errata* (1823). In all these Neal's real master was Byron, whom he followed with a fury of rant and fustian which would have made him, had he been gifted with taste and humour as well, no mean follower. Three years spent in England as a writer on American topics, where he became one of Bentham's secretaries and a utilitarian in all but atheism, modified Neal somewhat so that in his long later career he seemed almost a man of sense if never a man of humour or taste. *Brother Jonathan* (1825) and *The Down-Easters* (1833), however, which promise at first to be real pictures of New England life and character, soon run amuck into raving melodrama. For all his very unusual originality and force Neal has ceased to be read, the victim of a bad education and uncritical times. Equally unread, as novelists, are two other writers famous in their day, Catherine Maria Sedgwick (1789--1867) and Lydia Maria Child (1802–80), who, through long and busily useful years, touched fiction here and there, both beginning with historical romances in the early days of *The Spy's* fame and later drifting to more solid shores with the tide of realism. Less gifted than Neal, both had greater charm. Mrs. Child is remembered for her devoted opposition to slavery, but Miss Sedgwick was the more important novelist. *Redwood* (1824), *Hope Leslie* (1827), and *The Linwoods* (1835), her best and most popular stories, exhibit almost every convention of the fiction of her day.

One novelist of New England before Hawthorne, however, still has a wide, healthy public. Daniel Pierce Thompson (1795–1868) knew the Vermont frontier as Cooper knew that of New York. After many struggles with the bitterest poverty he got to Middlebury College, studied law, became a prominent official of his native state, and somewhat accidentally took to fiction. Of his half-dozen novels, which all possess a good share of honest realism, *Locke Amsden* (1847) gives perhaps the most truthful record of frontier life, but *The Green Mountain Boys* (1840) is the classic of Vermont. It is concerned with the struggles of the Vermonters for independence first from New York and second from Great Britain; its hero is the famous Ethan Allen. Thompson had none of Cooper's poetry and was little concerned with the magic of nature. He took over most of the tricks of the older novelists, their stock types and sentiments. But he made little effort to preach, he could tell a straight story plainly and rapidly, and he touched action with rhetoric in just the proportion needed to sell fifty editions of the book by 1860 and to make it in the twentieth century a standard book for boys which is by far the most popular romance of the immediate school of Cooper.

The Middle States had no secondary novelist who has survived so sturdily as Thompson. Charles Fenno Hoffman[1] is remembered for his lyrics, not for *Greyslaer* (1840). James Kirke Paulding,[2] though nearer Irving than Cooper, had considerable merit as a novelist, particularly in the matter of comedy, which most of the romancers lacked. *Koningsmarke* (1823) contains some pleasant burlesquing in its stories of adventures among the Delaware Swedes. Here, as in his later works, Paulding laughed at what he called "Blood-Pudding Literature." He was too facile in lending his pen, as parodist or follower, to whatever fashion happened to be approved to do any very individual work, but *The Dutchman's Fireside* (1831), probably his masterpiece, deserves to be mentioned with Mrs. Grant's *Memoirs of an American Lady* (1809), on which it is based, and Cooper's *Satanstoe*, much its superior, as a worthy record of colonial life along the Hudson. New Jersey and Pennsylvania appear in nothing better than the minor romances of Robert Montgomery Bird (1803–54),[1] *The Hawks of Hawk Hollow* (1835), *Sheppard Lee* (1836), and *The Adventures of Robin Day* (1839), vigorous and sometimes merry tales but not of permanent merit.

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[1] See also Book II, Chap. v.

[2] See also Book II, Chaps. I, III, IV, and V.

To the school of his friend Irving may be assigned the urbane John Pendleton Kennedy (1795–1870). Of excellent Virginia connections, he was born and educated in Baltimore, which, like New York, made rapid progress after the Revolution, first in commerce and then in taste. Having served bloodlessly enough in the War of 1812 and been admitted to the bar, Kennedy lived as merrily as Irving in the chosen circles of his native town. With Peter Hoffman Cruse he issued *The Red Book* (1818–19),[2] a kind of Baltimore *Salmagundi* in prose and verse, and after several years devoted to law and politics made a decided success with *Swallow Barn* (1832), obviously suggested by *Bracebridge Hall* but none the less notable as a pioneer record of the genial life of a Virginia plantation. Although the story counts for little, Kennedy's easy humour and real skill at description and the indication of character make the book distinguished. His later novels, *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (1835), in which he dealt with the Revolution in the Carolinas, and *Rob of the Bowl* (1838), which has its scene laid in colonial Maryland, are nearer Cooper, with the difference that Kennedy depended, as he had done in *Swallow Barn*, on fact not invention for almost all his action as well as for his details of topography and costume. Indeed, he founded the career of Horse-Shoe Robinson upon that of an actual partisan with such care that the man is said later to have approved the record as authentic. Decidedly Kennedy's gift was for enriching actual events with a finer grace and culture than many of the rival romancers could command. His style is clear, his methods always simple and rational. Of his miscellaneous writings *The Annals of Quodlibet* (1840) is tolerable satire, and the *Memoirs of the Life of William Wirt* (1849), substantial biography. Kennedy's range of friendship with other authors was wide; he had a full and honourable public career in city, state, and national affairs.

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[1] See also Book II, Chap. II.

[2] See also Book II, Chap. III.

South of the Potomac there were relatively few novelists during Cooper's lifetime. The great tradition of Virginia was sustained by her orators and scholars rather than by her writers of fiction, but Nathaniel Beverley Tucker (1784–1851) was both scholar and novelist. His *George Balcombe* (1836) Poe thought the best novel by an American; his *Partisan Leader* (1836), primarily famous because it prophesied disunion, is clearly a notable though little known work. No other American of the time wrote with such classical restraint and pride as Tucker. No book, of any time, surpasses *The Partisan Leader* for intense, conscious Virginianism. Mention should be made of Dr. William Alexander Caruthers (1800–46), perhaps less for his genial novels, *The Cavaliers of Virginia* (1835) and *The Knights of the Horse-Shoe* (1845), than for his widely-known sketch *Climbing the Natural Bridge.*[1] The lower states best appeared in the pages of their native humorists, who seldom wrote novels. South Carolina produced the writer who, among all the American romancers of the first half century, ranks nearest Cooper for scope and actual achievement.

William Gilmore Simms has been, to a pathetic degree, the victim of attachment to his native state. It was one of his strongest passions. He loved every foot of South Carolina, he honoured its traditions and defended its institutions even when they hurt his own fame. His best work was largely devoted to an heroic account of the Revolution in the Carolinas. But, whether his birth did not admit him to the aristocracy of Charleston, or because of a traditional disrespect for native

[1] First published in *The Knickerbocker Magazine*, July, 1838.

books, South Carolina refused Simms the honour certainly due his powers. In this the whole South was negligent; Simms had to depend too largely upon the North for publishers and a public. Unfortunately, Northern readers, though hospitable to his tales from the first, were not as familiar with Southern manners and traditions as with those nearer home, and Simms had not the mastery of illusion which might have overcome this disadvantage. The solid grounds, therefore, of his romance were partly wasted upon an audience not competent to recognize them. Time must have taught South Carolina more cordiality to her best writer had not the Civil War forced all literary matters into the background for a generation. When, later, the South became eager to establish its claims to a literature, the vogue of historical romance had passed, and Simms, not yet having found the public he deserved, never has found it.

Unlike Poe, he had not the art or patience to make himself independent of general approval. Born in Charleston, 17 April, 1806, son of a merchant of Irish birth who lost both his wife and his fortune during the winter of 1807–8, Simms got but a bare schooling and was early apprenticed to a druggist. He seems, during his youth, to have been as bookish as Brockden Brown, but it was romantic poetry and history which claimed his attention, not romantic speculation. From his grandmother, with whom he lived as a boy, he heard innumerable legends of the Revolution, South Carolina's heroic age, and cherished them with a poetic and patriotic devotion. When he was eighteen he went to visit his father, who had left Charleston for the West, become friend and follower of Andrew Jackson, and finally settled on a plantation in Mississippi. The young poet was thus shown the manners of a frontier which corresponded, in many ways, to that of Cooper, and he seems, during extended travels, to have observed its rough comedy and violent melodrama with sharp eyes. But the border was not, for Simms, his first love, and he went back, against his father's advice, to the traditions and dreams of Charleston. There he was married in 1826, was admitted to the bar the next year, published the first of his many volumes of verse, and suffered the death of his young wife. Thence, in 1832, he set out to the North on a career of authorship in which necessity confirmed his training and temper by urging him to immense industry and careless work.

It is unnecessary to say more of the miscellaneous tasks of Simms than that he wrote moderate poetry to the end of his life, including three tragedies, that he edited the apocryphal plays of Shakespeare, that he produced popular histories of South Carolina and popular biographies of Marion, Captain John Smith, the Chevalier Bayard, and General Greene, and that he kept up a ceaseless flood of contributions to periodicals. His range of interest and information was large, but he commonly dealt with American, and particularly Southern, affairs. His really significant work, as a romancer, he began in 1833 with a Godwinian tale of crime, *Martin Faber*, which was so well received that he followed it in 1834 with *Guy Rivers* and in 1835 with *The Yemassee*, two romances in which almost the full extent of his powers was instantly displayed. *Guy Rivers*, a conventional piece as regards the love affair which makes a part of the plot, is a tale of deadly strife between the laws of Georgia and a fiendish bandit. A born story-teller, like Cooper, Simms was as heedless as Cooper of structure and less careful as to style, but he was too rapid to be dull and he revealed to the reading world a new adventurous frontier. In *The Yemassee* his concern for the history of South Carolina bore fruit, a moving tale of the Yemassee War of 1715. This book is to the famous Revolutionary group what *The Spy* is to the Leather-Stocking tales, a romance standing somewhat by itself at the beginning of the author's career and yet quite the equal of any of the most representative volumes. Once again Simms took hints from current romances, but when he set himself to describing the rich landscape of South Carolina or to recounting its annals he was more fully master of his material than in *Guy Rivers* and more admirable in proportion as his subject was more congenial to him. He gave his Indians the dignity and courage which, he said, they must have had at an earlier period; he invented for them a mythology. The white and black characters have somewhat less heroic dimensions, but they are done with great vigour and some realism.

His third novel having met with popular success, Simms turned to the Revolution and published *The Partisan* (1835), designed as the first volume of a trilogy which should celebrate these valorous times. He later wavered in his scheme, and, though he finally called *Mellichampe* (1836) and *Katherine Walton* (1851) the other members of his trilogy, he grouped round them four more novels that have obvious marks of kinship. *The Partisan* traces events from the fall of Charleston to Gates's defeat at Camden; the action of *Mellichampe*, which is nearly parallel to that of *Katherine Walton*, the proper sequel of *The Partisan*, takes place in the interval between Camden and the coming of Greene; *The Scout*, originally called *The Kinsmen* (1841), illustrates the period of Greene's first triumphs; *The Sword and the Distaff* (1852), later known as *Woodcraft*, furnishes a kind of comic afterpiece for the series. Simms subsequently returned to the body of his theme and produced *The Forayers* (1853) and its sequel *Eutaw* (1856) to do honour to the American successes of the year 1781.

Of these *The Scout* is perhaps the poorest, because of the large admixture of Simms's cardinal vice, horrible melodrama; *Woodcraft* is on many grounds the best, by reason of its rather close-knit plot and the high spirits with which it tells of the exploits and courtships, after the war, of Captain Porgy, the best comic character in the whole range of the older American romance. But neither of these works is quite representative of the series; neither has quite the dignity which, lacking in his sensational tales of the border, Simms always imparted to his work when he was most under the spell of the Carolina tradition. That always warmed him; indeed at times he seems drunk with history. He had a tendency to overload his tales with solid blocks of fact derived from his wide researches, forgetting, in his passionate antiquarianism, his own belief that "the chief value of history consists in its proper employment for the purposes of art," or, rather, too much thrilled by bare events to see that they needed to be coloured into fiction if they were to fit his narrative. Simms never took his art too lightly. He held that the "modern Romance is the substitute which the people of the present day offer for the ancient epic."[1] In this sense, the seven novels are his epic of the Revolution. Marion, the Agamemnon of these wars, had already become a kind of legend, thanks to the popular memory and the fantastic ardour of Weems, but it remained for Simms to show a whole society engaged in the task which Marion did best. Simms's defect was that he relied too much upon one plot for all his tales, a partisan and a loyalist contending for the hand of the same girl, and that he repeated certain stock scenes and personages again and again. His great virtue was that he handled the actual warfare not only with interest and power but that he managed to multiply episodes with huge fecundity. He described, in a surge of rhetoric, his favourite material:

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[1] Preface to *The Yemassee* (1853).

> Partisan warfare, itself, is that irregular and desultory sort of life, which is unavoidably suggestive of the deeds and feelings of chivalry—such as gave the peculiar character, and much of the charm, to the history of the middle ages. The sudden onslaught—the retreat as sudden—the midnight tramp—the moonlight *bivouack*—the swift surprise, the desperate defence—the cruel slaughter and the headlong flight—and, amid the fierce and bitter warfare, always, like a sweet star shining above the gloom, the faithful love, the constant prayer, the devoted homage and fond allegiance of the maiden heart!

The passage is almost a generalized epitome of his Revolutionary romances. It also betrays the fact that by "epic" Simms meant not Homer but Froissart. If he is more bloody, he is also more sentimental than Cooper. His women, though Nelly Floyd in *Eutaw* is strikingly pathetic and mysterious, and Matiwan in *The Yemassee* is nearly as tragic as romance can make her, are almost all fragile and colourless things, not because Southern women were, but because pseudo-chivalry prescribed. His comedy is successful only, and there not always, in the words and deeds of the gourmand Porgy. Simms is a master in the description of landscapes, from the sterile wastes of Georgia to the luxuriant swamps in which the partisans found a refuge; but he lays little emphasis on the poetry or philosophy of "nature."

In historical tales, not Cooper's forte, Simms succeeded best; he was inferior when he dealt with the border. This may have been due partly to the intrinsic superiority of the earlier frontier to that which Simms had observed. At least it shows itself chiefly in the fact that Simms grew more melodramatic, as Cooper more poetic, the farther he ventured from regions of order and law. *Richard Hurdis* (1838), *Border Beagles* (1840), *Beauchampe* (1842), and *Charlemont* (1856) are amazingly sensational. Nor was Simms happy when he abandoned native for foreign history, as in *Pelayo* (1838), *The Damsel of Darien* (1839), *Count Julian* (1845), and *Vasconselos* (1854). Even more than Cooper, he lacked judgment as to the true province of his art; like Cooper, he constantly turned aside to put his pen to service in the distracted times through which he was fated to live.

His life was singularly noble and singularly tragic. Married a second time, in 1836, to Miss Chevillette Roach, and thus master of Woodlands, a respectable plantation in his own state, he led a pleasantly feudal existence, hospitable to many guests, and helpful, as the most prosperous Southern man of letters, to nearly all the authors and journals of the South. He spent the summers in Charleston where he came to preside over a coterie of younger writers; he made not infrequent visits to New York, and was well received. Besides concerning himself unofficially with all public affairs, he served in the state legislature for the session of 1844-46. As the agitation which led to civil war grew more heated, Simms plunged into stormy apologetics for the grounds and virtues of slavery. Just on the eve of the struggle he repeated the success of *The Yemassee* with a romance of seventeenth-century Carolina, *The Cassique of Kiawah* (1859), a stirring, varied story which must be ranked with his better books. Then upon him came the disasters of war. At first he was as sure that the South would win as that the South was just. His gradual realization that it was a losing contest would have shattered him had he been of any but the strongest stuff. His house, on the line of Sherman's march, was burned in February, 1865; he witnessed the wicked burning of Columbia. When the war ended he had lost his wife, nine of his fourteen children, (two of them since 1861), many of his best friends, and the whole of his fortune, yet he managed, in a more horrid overthrow than Scott's, to drive himself to work again with courage and energy, and kept up his efforts till his death, undoubtedly hastened by his labour, on 11 June, 1870. Despite his friends and admirers, the eclipse of those last years has never been quite lifted, and the somewhat fitful republication of his romances has left him much less read than he deserves, though few competent judges will put him far below Cooper, at least as regards strength and vigour, in the type of romance in which no third American name can be associated with theirs.

West of the Alleghanies the growth of fiction during the life of Cooper was, of course, scanty. It consisted less of novels than of tales and sketches, which, produced for the most part by writers of Eastern birth dwelling for a time in the new settlements, were chiefly concerned with the representation of manners not known to the seaboard. The wittiest of these writers was Mrs. Caroline Matilda Stansbury Kirkland (1801–64), a native of New York who took advantage of a three years' stay in Michigan to produce *A New Home—Who'll Follow* (1839), a volume of keen and sprightly letters on the frontier avowedly in the manner of Miss Mitford, and a continuation, *Forest Life* (1842), which is less piquant only because it was not the first. In the later *Western Clearings* (1846) she was somewhat more regular but not so racy and natural. A more representative Western author was James Hall (1793–1868),[1] who, born in Philadelphia, went west in search of adventure, lived in Illinois and Ohio, edited an annual and a magazine, and served as interpreter between West and East much as Irving did between America and Europe. Hall's manner, indeed, is like Irving's in its leisurely, genial narrative, its abundant descriptions, and its affection for supernatural legends which could be handled smilingly. He had real powers of fidelity, the only merit he claimed, to the life he knew, but he had also a florid style and a vein of romantic sentiment which too seldom rings true. *Legends of the West* (1832), *Tales of the Border* (1834), and *The Wilderness and the War-Path* (1846) contain his best stories; he is perhaps better known, not quite justly, for such books as *Sketches of History, Life and Manners, in the West* (1835), wherein he published his wide knowledge of a section then becoming important in the national life. It is as traveller and observer, too, not as romancer, that Timothy Flint (1780–1840) has come to be remembered, though he essayed fiction as well as nearly every other type of authorship in the days when he and Hall divided the West between them as a province to be worked by their versatile pens. Many novels celebrated Kentucky, which, as the first Western state of the Union, had secured a primacy in romance, between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, that it has never lost. Paulding, Simms, and Bird were chief among those who laid plots there. Bird's best novel, *Nick of the Woods* (1837), an exciting tale of border warfare in 1782, is notable for its attempt to correct Cooper's heroic drawing of the Indian and for its presentation of a type often spoken of in frontier annals, the white man who, crazed by Indian atrocities, gave his whole life to a career of ruthless vengeance.[1] The great romance of Kentucky, however, while perpetuated by no single novel or novelist, centres round the life and character of Daniel Boone, who became, by the somewhat capricious choice of tradition, a folk hero, standing among other pioneers as Leather-Stocking stands among native characters of fiction. A similar, though smaller, fame belongs to David Crockett of Tennessee, who comes somewhat closer to literature by the fact of having written an *Autobiography* (1834).

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[1] See also Book II, Chap. xx.

The region west of the Mississippi continued in the popular mind to be a strange land for which the reports of explorers and travellers did the work of fiction, and Cooper's *Prairie* had few followers. In 1834, however, Albert Pike (1809–91) published in his *Prose Sketches and Poems* some vivid tales of life in the South-west. That same year appeared *Calavar*, in writing which Bird had the avowed purpose of calling the attention of his public to romantic Mexico. The next year he repeated his success with *The Infidel*, another story of Cortez and the Conquest. Reading these novels with their tolerable learning in Mexican antiquities, their considerable power, and their superior sense of the pomp of great historical events, one is reminded how few romances of the period ventured beyond native borders. Whatever may be said of the poets, the novelists kept themselves almost always scrupulously at home. One set of exceptions was those who dealt with Spain and Mexico, and even with them the motive was largely, as with the contemporary historians, to honour the ancient bond between America and the European nation which had discovered it. In a more distant scene Mrs. Child laid her

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[1] For the play founded on this novel, see Book II, Chap. II.

Philothea (1836), a gentle, ignorant romance of the Athens of Pericles, the fruit of a real desire to escape from the clang of current life. Not much more remote from any thinkable reality was George Tucker's *Voyage to the Moon* (1827), in which a sound scholar satirized terrestrial follies in the spirit which seemed to his friends like that of Swift.[1] To a slightly later date belong the two novels of William Starbuck Mayo (1812–95), *Kaloolah* (1849) and *The Berber* (1850), stories of wild adventure in Africa. The first contains a strange mixture of satire and romance in its account of a black Utopia visited by the Yankee hero Jonathan Romer.

Contemporaries suspected, what Mayo denied, that *Kaloolah* must have taken hints from *Typee.* The suspicion was natural at a time when Melville, at the height of his first fame, had not entered the long seclusion which even yet obscures the merit of that romancer who, among all Cooper's contemporaries, has suffered least from the change of fashion in romance. Herman Melville, grandson of the conservative old gentleman upon whom Holmes wrote *The Last Leaf*, and son of a merchant of New York, was born there, 1 August, 1819. The early death of his father and the loss of the family fortune having narrowed Melville's chances for higher schooling to a few months in the Albany Classical School, he turned his hand to farming for a year, shipped before the mast to Liverpool in 1837, taught school from 1837–40, and in January, 1841, sailed from New Bedford on a whaling voyage into the Pacific. Upon the experiences of that voyage his principal work is founded. The captain of the *Acushnet*, it seems, treated the crew badly, and Melville, with the companion whom he calls Toby, escaped from the ship to the Island of Nukuheva [Nukahiva] in the Marquesas and strayed into the cannibal valley Typee [Taipi], where the savages kept Melville for four months in an "indulgent captivity." Rescued by an Australian whaler, Melville visited Tahiti and other islands of the Society group, took part in a mutiny, and once more changed ship, this time setting out for Honolulu. After some months as a clerk in Hawaii, he joined the crew of the frigate *United States* and returned by the Horn to Boston, October, 1844. "From my twenty-fifth year," he told Hawthorne, "I date my life." Why he held 1844 so important is not clear; he may then first have turned to authorship. Though he had kept no notes of his journeying, within a year he had completed his first book, *Typee*, the record of his captivity. This was followed the next year by *Omoo*,[1] which completes his island adventures. In 1849 came *Redburn*, based on his earlier voyage to Liverpool, and in 1850 *White-Jacket*, an account of life on a man-of-war.

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[1] For Tucker, see also Book II, Chap. XVII.

The first two had a great vogue and aroused much wonder as to the proportion of fiction and fact which might have gone to their making. Murray published *Typee* in England in the belief that it was pure fact. There were others to rank it with Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years before the Mast* (1841) as a transcript of real events. But though little is known of Melville's actual doings in the South Seas, it is at least clear that *Typee* and *Omoo* are no more as truthful as *Two Years before the Mast* than they are as crisp and nautical as that incomparable classic of the sea. Melville must be ranked less with Dana than with George Borrow. If he knew the thin boundary between romance and reality, he was still careless of nice limits, and his work is a fusion which defies analysis. *White-Jacket*, of these four books, is probably nearest a plain record; *Redburn* has but few romantic elements. *Omoo*, as a sequel, has not the freshness of *Typee*, nor has it such unity. *Typee*, indeed, is Melville at all but his best, and must be classed with the most successful narrations of the exotic life; after seventy years, when the South Pacific seems no longer another world, the spell holds. The valley of Taipi becomes, in Melville's handling, a region of dreams and languor which stir the senses with the fragrance and colour of the landscape and the gay beauty of the brown cannibal girls. And yet Melville, thoroughly sensitive to the felicities of that life, never loses himself in it but remains the shrewd and smiling Yankee.

The charge that he had been writing romance led Melville to deserve the accusation, and he wrote *Mardi* (1849), certainly one of the strangest, maddest books ever composed by an American. As in *Typee*, two sailors escape from a tyrannical captain in the Pacific and seek their fortune on the open sea, where they finally discover the archipelago of Mardi, a paradise more rich and sultry than the Marquesas, which becomes, as the story proceeds, a crazy chaos of adventure and satirical allegory. In *Mardi* for the first time appear those qualities which made a French critic call Melville "un Rabelais américain," his welter of language, his fantastic laughter, his tumultuous philosophies. He had turned, contemporaries said, from the plain though witty style of his first works to the gorgeous manner of Sir Thomas Browne; he had been infected, say later critics, with Carlylese. Whatever the process, he had surely shifted his interest from the actual to the abstruse and symbolical, and he never recovered from the dive into metaphysics which proved fatal to him as a novelist. It was, however, while on this perilous border that he produced the best of his, and one of the best of American, romances; it is the peculiar mingling of speculation and experience which lends *Moby Dick* (1851) its special power.

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[1] The word is Polynesian for "rover."

The time was propitious for such a book. The golden age of the whalers was drawing to a close, though no decline had yet set in, and the native imagination had been stirred by tales of deeds done on remote oceans by the most heroic Yankees of the age in the arduous calling in which New England, and especially the hard little island of Nantucket, led and taught the world. A small literature of whaling had grown up, chiefly the records of actual voyages or novels like those of Cooper in which whaling was an incident of the nautical life. But the whalers still lacked any such romantic record as the frontier had. Melville brought to the task a sound knowledge of actual whaling, much curious learning in the literature of the subject, and, above all, an imagination which worked with great power upon the facts of his own experience. Moby Dick, the strange, fierce white whale that Captain Ahab pursues with such relentless fury, was already a legend among the whalers, who knew him as "Mocha Dick."[1] It remained for Melville to lend some kind of poetic or moral significance to a struggle ordinarily conducted for no cause but profit. As he handles the story, Ahab, who has lost a leg in the jaws of the whale, is driven by a wild desire for revenge which has maddened him and which makes him identify Moby Dick with the very spirit of evil and hatred. Ahab, not Melville, is to blame if the story seems an allegory,

[1] See Reynolds, J. N., *Mocha Dick, Knickerbocker Magazine*, May, 1839.

which Melville plainly declared it was not[1]; but it contains, nevertheless, the semblance of a conflict between the ancient and scatheless forces of nature and the ineluctable enmity of man. This is the theme, but description can hardly report the extraordinary mixture in *Moby Dick* of vivid adventure, minute detail, cloudy symbolism, thrilling pictures of the sea in every mood, sly mirth and cosmic ironies, real and incredible characters, wit, speculation, humour, colour. The style is mannered but often felicitous; though the book is long, the end, after every faculty of suspense has been aroused, is swift and final. Too irregular, too bizarre, perhaps, ever to win the widest suffrage, the immense originality of *Moby Dick* must warrant the claim of its admirers that it belongs with the greatest sea romances in the whole literature of the world.

Married in 1847, Melville lived for three years in New York and then for thirteen years in a farmhouse near Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Although he did not cease to write at once, *Moby Dick* seems to have exhausted him. *Pierre* (1852) is hopelessly frantic; *Israel Potter* (1855) is not markedly original; neither are *The Piazza Tales* (1856), and *The Confidence Man* (1857). The verses which he wrote in his later years, his sole output, are in a few instances happy, but far more often jagged and harsh. Whatever the causes of his loss of power, he fretted under it and grew more metaphysical, tortured, according to Hawthorne, his good friend, by uncertainty as to a future life. That way, for Melville, was madness; his earlier works should have taught him that he was lost without a solid basis in fact. He moved restlessly about, lecturing on the South Seas during the years 1857–1860 in many cities of the United States and Canada. He visited Europe and Palestine. Finally, having returned to New York, he was appointed to a place in the Custom House in 1866, and served there for twenty years, living a private life of almost entire, though voluntary and studious, seclusion. His death, 28 September, 1891, after nearly forty silent years, removed from American literature one of its most promising and most disappointing figures. Of late his fame has shown a tendency to revive.

Another type of romance which had some vogue during the later years of Cooper was the religious romance, of which, though many essayed it, the chief writers were William Ware (1797–1852), and Sylvester Judd (1813–53). Ware, a clergyman and fair classical scholar, wrote three novels, *Letters from Palmyra* (1837), later called *Zenobia, Probus* (1838), a sequel now known as *Aurelian*, and *Julian* (1841), which, though strongly biased in favour of the creed Ware preached, and often diffuse and monotonous, had still enough force and charm to have continued to be read by those to whom all books dealing with the origins of Christianity are an equal duty and delight. Judd has not been so widely read as Ware, though generally considered a novelist of superior truth and subtlety. His first novel, *Margaret* (1845), was born of a desire to show that Unitarians could produce imaginative literature. Its special merits are its vivid fidelity to the life of rural Massachusetts just after the Revolution, its thorough, loving familiarity with the New England temper and scene, and a kind of spiritual ardour which pervades the whole book; but it is badly constructed and it runs, toward the close, into a region of misty transcendentalisms where characters and plot are lost. *Richard Edney* (1850), a companion piece with its hero a boy and its setting contemporary, suffers, either as narrative or sense, from the same theological obsession, which appears in Judd's poems as little less than pathological.

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[1] *Moby Dick*, Chap. XLV.

By 1851 there were, or had been, many novelists whose names could find place only in an extended account of American fiction[1]: writers of adventure stories more sensational than Simms's or of moral stories more obvious than Miss Sedgwick's and Mrs. Child's, authors for children, authors preaching causes, authors celebrating fashionable or Bohemian life in New York. Not only regular novels and romances but briefer tales multiplied. The period which could boast in Cooper but one novelist of first rank could show three such tale-tellers as Irving, Hawthorne, and Poe. The annuals and magazines met the demand for such amusement and fostered it,[2] but the novel was encouraged more than it was hurt by the new type. Prose fiction, in fact, though somewhat late in starting, had firmly established itself in the United States by the middle of the century, and Cooper, followed in Great Britain by the nautical romancers, and on the Continent by such writers about wild life as Karl Anton Postl ("Charles Sealsfield"), Friedrich Gerstäcker, and Gustave Aimard, and everywhere read, had become a world figure.

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[1] See Northrup, C. S., *The Novelists*, in *A Manual of American Literature*, ed. Stanton, T., 1909.

[2] See Book II, Chap. XX.

CHAPTER VIII

Transcendentalism

NEW ENGLAND transcendentalism was a late and local manifestation of that great movement for the liberation of humanity which, invading practically every sphere of civilized activity, swept over Europe at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

With the fading of the Renaissance, Europe had passed into an age of criticism, during which all it had inherited and achieved in the preceding era was subjected to the test of reason. Throughout the eighteenth century especially, the existing structure of society was subtly undermined, and when, at the end of that century, it finally collapsed, the revolution which in reality had long been in preparation took on an abrupt and miraculous appearance.

> Heaven smiles, and faiths and empires gleam
> Like wrecks of a dissolving dream,

cried Shelley, attempting to describe this remarkable period, and his lines are scarcely an exaggeration. Smiles and wrecks, these were the characteristic products of the time, blasted institutions and blossoming ideals.

What those ideals were—some of them soon to be realized, others destined to remain distant visions—is tolerably clear. Socially this revolution meant democracy, the assertion of the brotherhood and potential equality of men. Politically and religiously it meant the overthrow of feudal and ecclesiastical tyrannies and customs, and the setting up of liberal forms of government and belief as instruments for testing the new social doctrine. Philosophically it meant the contention, in the face of existing rationalisms and skepticisms, that man's practical and imaginative faculties play a part in his apprehension of the truth. In the realm of art and literature it meant the shattering of pseudo-classic rules and forms in favour of a spirit of freedom, the creation of works filled with the new passion for nature and common humanity and incarnating a fresh sense of the wonder, promise, and romance of life. In the scientific and industrial worlds it meant those fundamental and far-reaching changes which came with the constantly fuller recognition and adoption of the scientific method.

To the special student, each of these revolutionary movements has its separate history. But life, in spite of the student, is not a matter of water-tight compartments, and a first fact to be seized and held fast in any discussion of New England transcendentalism is that the new spirit which appeared in Europe a century and more ago was neither social, nor political, nor industrial, nor economic, nor literary, nor scientific, nor religious. It was all of them at once. It transcended every phase of life—though it is true, of course, that in this particular locality or at that particular time, in this individual or in that social atmosphere, it did take on this or that predominant emphasis or colour.

On this side of the Atlantic, for instance, it assumed at the outset a pre-eminently political character, and America, in her own Revolution and in the events which followed it, made an early and memorable contribution to that greater revolution of the human spirit of which the source and centre was in Europe. But America, save in the case here and there of an exceptional mind, remained largely unconscious, even as a matter of political theory, of the general significance for the world of what she had accomplished. Still less had she distilled from her democratic practice any fresh philosophy or faith. When, then, voices from abroad of those who were seeking a religion for the new order of things penetrated to a community which, religious to the core, had long been religiously starved, those voices were bound to be heard and answered. That is precisely what began happening near Boston shortly before the year 1830. The result was similar to what occurs, under like conditions, in the case of an individual.

Whoever has seen a young man of high mental and spiritual endowment lifted out of a provincial environment and placed suddenly in contact with the central intellectual and religious forces of his time, has a key to much of the transcendental movement in New England. The unsettling of traditional foundations, the ferment of thought and emotion, the aspirations, the excesses, the unleashing of dormant and unsuspected powers, all the effects, in fact, which attend such an experience in the case of the individual were reproduced on a wider scale when the spirit of revolutionary Europe descended upon a group of the finest minds of early nineteenth-century New England. The spirit of the eighteenth century had survived in the neighbourhood of Boston long after the eighteenth century was dead. And suddenly—so at least it seemed—this group of young men and women became intensely aware of that fact. The new ideas and ideals found their way to them through a score of channels and affected as many phases of New England life. But because of the predominant part which religion still played in that life and its traditions, it was within the religious world that the influence of the new spirit was immediate and marked. Transcendentalism was the religious conversion of early nineteenth-century New England. And because of the relative cultural eminence of New England, it became indirectly, in some measure, the religious conversion of America. Emerson's address, *The American Scholar*, is called our intellectual Declaration of Independence. With far more fundamental truth his little volume, *Nature*, might be called our religious Declaration of Independence.

New England transcendentalism, then, was the product of European forces brought to bear on New England character and conditions. To analyze the movement further it will be necessary to look somewhat more closely at the nature of those conditions and that character and to study in a little more detail the outside forces which were brought in contact with them.

The religious evolution of New England from the period of the Puritan theocracy to the beginning of the nineteenth century is on the whole, with a certain change of scale and retardation of movement, strikingly similar to the religious development during the same period abroad, a fact which, at the outset, renders futile any hope to estimate with exactness how far the two movements were parallel, how far the one was influenced by the other.

New England took no plunge, as England did, from the moral heights of Puritanism into the abyss of Restoration licentiousness. But there was a descent, which, if more gradual, was not on that account less real. Seventeenth-century Puritanism held within itself the germ of its own disintegration.[1] Already, by the second generation, under the law of psychological reaction and the exacting material demands of a pioneer community, "the decay of godliness in the land" had become conspicuous, and it seems difficult not to regard Salem witchcraft as the *reductio ad absurdum* of the extreme religious spirit. The revulsion of feeling that followed that outburst of superstition, the increasing interest in commercial and political questions, the gradual introduction of English rationalistic doctrines, the growing influence of the philosophy of Locke and of the literature of the "classical" school, all these causes, and many others, combined to accelerate the change in spiritual atmosphere, and it was not long before there was prevalent, especially in the neighbourhood of Boston, much of that temper of prose and reason which we habitually associate with the eighteenth century. With this changing mood, "heresies" began to creep into the religious world: Arminianism, Arianism, and other dissolvents of Calvinism. Interest in "morality" began to infringe on interest in theology. A line of increasingly "liberal" ministers occupied prominent Boston pulpits.[2]

The career of Jonathan Edwards serves, by contrast, to tell the story of what was happening.[3] He, if anyone, was fitted to stem the tide of encroaching secular interests. The Great Awakening, that transitory religious revival of the second generation of the eighteenth century which is in many ways the American counterpart of the Methodist movement, was designed to remedy the spiritual deadness of the time. But it merely widened the opening gulf in the religious world. The New Calvinists, as the followers of Edwards were called, went on to develop a theology of their own, while the liberals, constantly in closer touch with English thinking, grew more and more radical, until, as the two schools diverged, the term Unitarian was finally applied to them. Though 1785, the year in which King's Chapel in the revision of its liturgy tacitly denied the doctrine of the Trinity, is often selected as the beginning of the Unitarian movement, and though the actual schism between the Unitarian and the Trinitarian churches did not come till 1815, it is convenient, if not strictly accurate, to speak of the whole evolution of American liberalism in the eighteenth century as the Unitarian movement.

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[1] See Book I, Chap. III.

[2] See Book I, Chap. V.

[3] See Book I, Chap. IV.

Throughout that century the position of the New England liberal had been an increasingly strong one, the typical Unitarian of the time being a man of tolerance, of intellect, of cultured tastes, of unexceptionable private morality and notable civic virtue. Emotional or spiritual in temperament, however, he was not. When, therefore, the intense fervour and the new ideals of revolutionary Europe began to make their way to New England, the Unitarian (like the orthodox Calvinist of a century before) began to find himself in an untenable position, transformed by the altered spirit of the age from a radical into a conservative. A number of Unitarian clergymen, notably the Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster (1784–1812), seem to have had an inkling of new things, but Buckminster died at the age of twenty-eight, and it was left to William Ellery Channing to be the first Unitarian to show something like a full appreciation of the significance for religion of the changing spirit of the time. Channing is the bridge between Unitarianism and transcendentalism.

Channing was born in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1780. His early religious environment was Calvinistic but not illiberal, his parents being orthodox in belief but tolerant in spirit. The stern Calvinism of Dr. Samuel Hopkins, Edwards's pupil, the minister to whose preaching Channing listened as a boy, shocked his delicately sensitive nature, and was doubtless one of the influences that by reaction led to his liberal religious views. During his college days at Harvard Channing's early tendency toward revolt was strengthened and his seeking for intellectual independence encouraged. Contact in his reading with radical English writers of the eighteenth century gave a direction to his thinking which, in spite of marked mental growth in later years, was never fundamentally altered.

On leaving Harvard he acted for nearly two years as tutor in a Virginia family, imbibing in the course of this experience an intense hatred of slavery. During this period, too, he became acquainted with the works of Rousseau, Godwin, and Mary Wollstonecraft, and from that time the kinship of many of his ideas with those of French Revolutionary origin can be clearly traced, though in passing through his serene and profoundly Christian mind those ideas often became scarcely recognizable.

On returning north Channing studied theology, becoming in 1803 minister of the Federal Street Society, Boston, a pulpit from which, until his death in 1842, he preached, in a spirit of singularly mingled benignity and power, sermons of constantly increasing influence that emphasized consistently the spiritual and practical as opposed to the doctrinal aspects of Christianity. Ultimately his fame even crossed the ocean, a number of his essays and reviews being translated and widely read, especially in France. The eminence he attained was due fundamentally to the gracious, almost saintly, character behind both his written and his spoken words; and it is worth remembering that all he did was accomplished in the face of a physical condition that made him essentially an invalid.

Although Channing is usually spoken of as the greatest Unitarian of his time, his sermon on *Unitarian Christianity*, preached at the ordination of Jared Sparks at Baltimore in 1819, being often called the creed of that denomination, he was, if we are to give him that name, a Unitarian of an entirely new type, and his works are full of indictments of what Emerson later called "the pale negations of Boston Unitarianism."

> "Unitarianism," we find him writing, for instance, "has suffered from union with a heart-withering philosophy. . . . I fear that we must look to other schools for the thoughts which thrill us, which touch the most inward springs, and disclose to us the depths of our own souls."

Or again:

> Now, religion ought to be dispensed in accommodation to this spirit and character of our age. Men desire excitement, and religion must be communicated in a more exciting form. . . . Men will not now be trifled with. . . . They want a religion which will take a strong hold upon them.

And they desire the same quality in their literature, he says elsewhere, "a poetry which pierces beneath the exterior of life to the depths of the soul."

Manifestly, as these references to changing standards in philosophy, religion, and literature make clear, a new spirit was abroad in the land, and though Channing himself had caught much of it from other and earlier sources, it is certain that German philosophy and literature, some of it directly, much more of it indirectly, was, by the third decade of the century, becoming a chief influence in its dissemination.

The impetus toward things German had come, about 1819, with the return to America from Göttingen of George Ticknor, George Bancroft, and Edward Everett, young men, all of them, of brilliant parts. The interest thus aroused was fostered by the coming to Harvard a few years later, as instructor in German, of Charles T. Follen, a political exile. From about this time, some direct knowledge of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling, of Schleiermacher, of Goethe and Schiller—of Goethe probably more than of any other German writer—gradually began to make its way into New England, while the indirect German influence was even greater, coming in part through France in the works of Madame de Staël, Cousin, and Jouffroy, but much more significantly through England, in subtle form in the poetry of Wordsworth, more openly in the writings of Coleridge,[1] and, a little later, in the essays of Carlyle.

This interest in German thought and in English romantic literature, moreover, was but the beginning of a wider literary and philosophical awakening which brought with it increasing attention to general European literature, a revitalized attitude toward the classics, and considerable exploration in the realms of Neo-Platonic philosophy and Oriental "Scriptures."

It is natural that those who began to feel the vital effect upon their own religious convictions of this new spirit in philosophy and literature should have found one another out.

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[1] There is practically no question that of all these influences the works of Coleridge stand first in importance, and it is due to this fact that New England transcendentalism, in so far as it is a philosophy, bears a closer resemblance to the metaphysical system of Schelling (whose influence on Coleridge is well known) than to that of any other thinker.

This they had done many months before any regular gatherings were contemplated. It was not until 1836 that these were begun when on 19 September—after a still smaller preliminary conference—Ralph Waldo Emerson, Frederick Henry Hedge, Convers Francis, James Freeman Clarke, and Amos Bronson Alcott met at the house of George Ripley and formed an organization to aid an exchange of thought among those interested in the "new views" in philosophy, theology, and literature. Among those who joined the group at later meetings were Theodore Parker, Margaret Fuller, Orestes A. Brownson, Elizabeth and Sophia Peabody, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Jones Very, Christopher P. Cranch, Charles T. Follen, and William Henry Channing. For a number of years, following 1836, this group, generally referred to as the Transcendental Club, continued occasionally to come together.

Of the less familiar names among its members, several, in a fuller treatment of the subject, would deserve discussion: Hedge and Clarke, for instance, Unitarian clergymen, the former a man of wide reading and sound scholarship who did much to spread a knowledge of German philosophy, the latter a leader of his denomination and of some contemporary standing as an author; Brownson, one of the most forceful but erratic figures of the time, minister, editor, politician, and novelist—beginning life as a Presbyterian and becoming in turn Universalist, Unitarian, transcendentalist, and Roman Catholic; Very and Cranch, two of the poets of the period, the former probably the extreme mystic of the whole group, a victim for a time of religious mania, the latter a picturesque figure, painter, musician, and ventriloquist, as well as poet. Some of these men attained considerable eminence in their own time, but for the present discussion these passing comments on them must suffice.

It is characteristic of the extreme individualism of the movement that the Transcendental Club was never a really formal organization. The transcendentalists, though most of them were Unitarians, did not leave the fold and form a new church—though such an event as Emerson's withdrawal from the ministry in 1832 is symbolic of a general spiritual secession then taking place. But in spite of the absence of definite organization, there was essential unity of belief among the dissenters. This belief is as well embodied as anywhere, perhaps, in Emerson's little treatise *Nature*, a work which, appearing the same year the Club was formed, may be fittingly considered the philosophical "constitution" of transcendentalism, all the more so since the same author's better known Phi Beta Kappa Oration, *The American Scholar* (1837), and his profoundly influential *Divinity School Address* (1838) are merely applications of the doctrine of *Nature* to the realms of letters and theology.

Into any detailed discussion of what that doctrine was, into any minute exposition, in other words, of the transcendental philosophy, it is impossible here to enter. A glance, however, may be taken at a few of its central and controlling features.

The word "transcendental" in its philosophic sense goes back to Kant and the *Critique of Pure Reason*, though in New England, as elsewhere, the term lost its narrowly technical application and borrowed at the same time a new shade of meaning from the *Critique of Practical Reason*. Kant had taught that time and space are not external realities but ways in which the mind "constitutes" its world of sense. The same is true, he had contended, of cause and effect and the other categories of the mind. Furthermore, as he brought out in his second *Critique*, the ideas of God, of freedom, and of immortality are inevitable intuitions of the practical nature of man, and these intuitions, since man is essentially a practical and moral being, have therefore not a merely sentimental but a real validity. From these and other Kantian conceptions a broad generalization was made, and the word "transcendental" came to be applied, in New England, to whatever in man's mental and spiritual nature is conceived of as above experience and independent of it. Whatever transcends the experience of the senses is transcendental. Innate, original, universal, *a priori*, intuitive—these are words all of which convey a part of the thought swept under the larger meaning of the term. To the transcendentalists the name John Locke stood for the denial of innate ideas. "Sensationalism" was the prevalent description of the doctrine of his *Essay*. Transcendentalism, on the other hand, reaffirmed the soul's inherent power to grasp the truth, and upon this basis went on to erect a metaphysical structure similar in its main outlines to the leading Platonic and idealistic philosophies of the past.

According to this view of the world, the one reality is the vast spiritual background of existence, the Over-Soul, God, within which all other being is unified and from which it derives its life. Because of this indwelling of divinity, every part of the world, however small, is a microcosm, comprehending within itself, like Tennyson's flower in the crannied wall, all the laws and meaning of the whole. The soul of each individual, therefore, is identical with the soul of the world, and contains, latently, all that that larger soul contains. Thus the normal life of man is a life of continuous expansion, the making actual of the potential elements of his being. This may occur in two ways: either directly, in states which vary from the ordinary perception of truth to moments of mystical rapture in which there is a conscious influx of the divine into the human; or indirectly, through the instrumentality of nature. Nature is the embodiment of spirit in the world of sense—it is a great picture to be appreciated, a great book to be read, a great task to be performed. Through the beauty, truth, and goodness incarnate in the natural world, the individual soul comes in contact with and appropriates to itself the spirit and being of God.

From these central conceptions all the other teachings of the transcendentalists are derived: their doctrines of self-reliance and individualism, of the identity of moral and physical laws, of the essential unity of all religions, of the negative nature of evil; their spirit of complete tolerance and of absolute optimism; their defiance of tradition and disregard for all external authority.

It must not be understood, however, that metaphysics was a central interest of the transcendentalists. They were not system makers. The idealistic philosophy was to many of them more a spirit and attitude of mind than a consciously reasoned-out theory of the world, and it is as such a pervading spirit that its virtue still survives. As an explanation of the mystery of existence the transcendental philosophy makes little appeal to our own hard-headed and scientific generation; but no one, assuredly, with any measure of spiritual and poetic perception can give himself sincerely and unreservedly to one of the literary masterpieces of the transcendental school, to one of the greater essays of Emerson for example, the *Self-Reliance*, *Compensation*, *Spiritual Laws*, or *The Over-Soul*, without a consciousness, as he puts down the volume, of having passed for the time into a higher sphere of being, without a deepened conviction of the triviality, the relative unreality, of material concerns, without a sense of spaciousness, of clarity, of nobility, of power, a feeling that that much abused word "eternal" has suddenly put on a very real and concrete meaning. Against such an actual experience no mere argument can avail. Nor does the emotion thus evoked end in a vague mystical exaltation. It leaves, rather, whether the reader profit by it or not, a distinct sense of its bearing on the daily conduct of life. This spirit of uplift, together with the moral impulsion it imparts, is the heart of New England transcendentalism.

But the transcendentalists were not always at the level of their masterpieces, and from the outset two results of a movement whose essence was so intangible and ideal were practically inevitable: first, that it should be misunderstood and misinterpreted by those who viewed it from outside; and second, that it should lead to excesses among the initiated themselves which would lend colour and, in a measure, justification to its critics. So quickly, indeed, did these results appear that to the public the word "transcendental" soon came to mean, to all intents and purposes, "transcending common sense," and this use of the term gained added sanction from the difficulty of distinguishing sharply between transcendentalism and other currents of social and religious unrest then pulsing through New England. Some notion of the varieties of "dissent" and "reform" contending at that time for public attention is conveyed in Emerson's description of the Chardon Street Convention which was held in Boston in 1840:

> Madmen, madwomen, men with beards, Dunkers, Muggletonians, Come-outers, Groaners, Agrarians, Seventh-day Baptists, Quakers, Abolitionists, Calvinists, Unitarians, and Philosophers.

Surely these were wild and "transcendental" times!

Of the members of the Club it was Amos Bronson Alcott, father of Louisa May Alcott, who was particularly singled out as a target for the shafts of a jesting and unsympathetic public. The stories told of him, to be sure, were often outright inventions or gross exaggerations. But we do not need to go beyond the testimony of his daughter to discover considerable basis for the popular conception of his character. Alcott, in fact, becomes an especially significant figure as embodying in excessive degree the mystical tendency of the transcendentalists together with those extravagances and eccentricities which often accompany the mystic's habit of wrapping himself up in the clouds of his own speculation and aspiration.

Alcott was born in Connecticut in 1799. After a fragmentary education he went to Virginia planning to teach but was compelled to earn his living by peddling. For four or five years this was his chief vocation, and it is interesting to note that toward the end of this period he came in contact with North Carolina Quakers, whose religious views seem to have influenced his thinking. Following this he returned to New England and for nearly fifteen years devoted himself in the main to school-teaching, putting into practice with considerable success, especially in his last and most famous school at the Masonic Temple in Boston, radical educational theories, some of which seem to have anticipated kindergarten methods now in vogue and which earned for Alcott the title of the American Pestalozzi.

Alcott's fundamental educational conceptions were Platonic, and he exhibited an astonishing but entirely characteristic consistency in carrying out his most radical ideas. He believed in the plenary inspiration of childhood, and his method may be described as an attempt to realize in practice the thought of Wordsworth's ode on the *Intimations of Immortality*.

The publication of some of his conversations with his pupils, owing to their references to the phenomena of birth, brought adverse criticism and tended to impair the prosperity of the school. Finally, on his refusal to dismiss a coloured child whom he had received as a pupil, patronage was withdrawn and he was compelled to give up the enterprise.

After the failure of his school Alcott first tried his scheme of public "conversations," with little financial success, however. In these years, too, he showed an interest in many of the reform movements of the day, the temperance cause, woman's rights, the anti-slavery agitation. Moving with his family to Concord in 1840, he tried for a time to stick to farm work, but his taste for transcendental thought was too strong and he again began holding conversations and giving lectures. Shortly after this he removed to a farm in the town of Harvard, where, with two English friends, he instituted the community of Fruitlands.

The ideals of this miniature Utopia were extreme. The diet was strictly vegetarian, even milk and eggs being tabooed. Water was the only beverage. The "aspiring" vegetables, those which grow into the air like the fruits, were allowed, but the baser ones, like potatoes and beets, which grow downward, were forbidden. When cold weather came the experiment had proved itself, materially at least, a complete failure. This was too much for Alcott, who, losing for once his perennial serenity and turning his face to the wall, asked only to be allowed to die. He had a brave wife, however, who eventually brought him to his senses.

Following the failure of Fruitlands, the Alcotts had a long struggle against poverty first in Concord and later in Boston, Mrs. Alcott apparently being the financial mainstay of the family, her husband contributing what little he could earn from his conversations. The journal of Louisa May Alcott covering this period gives us many intimate glimpses into the life of "the pathetic family," and while the father is revealed as a man of extreme impracticality and even of unwitting selfishness, his extraordinary gentleness of temper and his unfailing optimism under adversity are not less conspicuous. When, a few years later, Miss Alcott gained literary distinction, the family was freed from financial embarrassment. The latter part of Alcott's life brought the Concord School of Philosophy and the realization of his long-cherished dream to see himself the American Plato surrounded by a group of admiring disciples.

It is singularly difficult to arrive at a just estimate of Alcott. The whole affinity of his mind was mystical, Neo-Platonic and Oriental writers being his favourite authors. The rarified nature of his subject-matter combined with a certain deficiency in power of literary expression makes his published works inadequately representative of the man, and the critic pauses between the belief that admiring contemporaries grossly overrated the ability of an active and elevated but withal rather ordinary mind, and the opposite view that Alcott had a touch of real genius in him, a kinship in due degree with the inspired talkers of literary history. Carlyle's famous description of him gives us part of the truth:

> The good Alcott: with his long, lean face and figure, with his grey worn temples and mild radiant eyes; all bent on saving the world by a return to acorns and the golden age; he comes before one like a kind of venerable Don Quixote, whom nobody can even laugh at without loving.

But Emerson probably came nearer than anyone else to doing justice to both sides of Alcott's nature when he called his friend a "tedious archangel."

If Alcott embodied the extreme mystical and esoteric side of transcendentalism, the Brook Farm Association represents its social and experimental aspect.

George Ripley (1802–1880), the leader of this enterprise, was a graduate of Harvard and a Unitarian minister. A wide and increasing knowledge of European writers, however, gradually led his interest from theology into the sphere of social reform. He accordingly gave up his pastorate, and in 1841 he and his wife and a number of loyal friends established the Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education on a farm at West Roxbury, nine miles from Boston. The association was a joint-stock company and financially it was inaugurated and conducted with considerable practical sagacity. On its theoretical side the enterprise, while the product in a general way of the speculations and example of Owen and Fourier, was not, especially at the beginning, in any precise sense an experiment in socialism. The hope of its founders was merely to make Brook Farm a self-supporting group of men and women, where all should share in the manual labour, the leisure, and the educational and cultural advantages, a place of "plain living and high thinking" where life might be lived in an atmosphere of fraternity, free from the strife and burdens of ordinary competitive society. That the attempt

keenness

was far from being unsuccessful is revealed by many anecdotes which have come down showing the hearty and genuine spirit which prevailed among its members, a spirit to the happy influence of which on their later lives more than one of the survivors of the enterprise has borne witness.

The adoption in 1844, with some modifications, of the principles of Fourier seems, however, to have put an end to some of the more Arcadian features of Brook Farm; and this, together with the fact that the efforts of inexperienced farmers on a rather poor farm yielded insufficient financial return, was enough to doom the experiment to ultimate failure. The disbanding of the members was immediately occasioned by the burning in 1846 of the unfinished "phalanstery," upon which seven thousand dollars had already been expended and which was wholly uninsured.

Brook Farm, being the most tangible and visible product of this whole New England movement, has come to stand in the public mind for a perfect incarnation of the transcendental spirit. This is an error. Brook Farm was characteristic of transcendentalism in its belief that the material factors of life should be subservient to the spiritual and ideal and in its conviction that right thinking would lead toward better social conditions—in the end, indeed, to a perfect society. But it is important to notice that Ripley alone of the original members of the Transcendental Club had an active share in the enterprise and that while Emerson, Alcott, Theodore Parker, and Margaret Fuller were interested and on the whole sympathetic visitors, they were too thoroughly individualistic, too distrustful of the institutional factor in life, to be completely satisfied with the experiment. In not a few respects incidents more characteristic, in their individualism, of the transcendental spirit were Alcott's sojourn with his friends at Fruitlands and, still more so, Thoreau's experiment on the shore of Walden Pond.[1]

An achievement more intimately connected than Brook Farm with the Transcendental Club and the leading transcendentalists was *The Dial*,[2] the literary organ of the movement, the first number of which appeared in 1840 with Margaret Fuller as editor, and George Ripley as assistant editor. *The*

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[1] See Book II, Chap. x.

[2] See also Book II, Chap. xx.

Dial never approached financial success, and it was only through real devotion and sacrifice on the part of its editor and of Elizabeth Peabody that it was issued as long as it was. Miss Fuller resigned the editorship after two years and Emerson assumed it for a like period, after which it was discontinued.

Whatever defects *The Dial* may have had, a comparison of its pages with the dusty contemporaneous numbers of, let us say, *The North American Review* is not to its disadvantage and lends some weight to the assertion of its main contributors that they were dealing with subjects of deeper than passing interest. The journal discussed questions of theology and philosophy; it contained papers on art, music, and literature, especially German literature; translations from ancient "Oriental Scriptures"; original modern "scriptures" in the form of Alcott's *Orphic Sayings;* and finally, a good deal of verse. In this latter connection one of the most interesting features of *The Dial* to the present-day reader is the opportunity and encouragement it afforded to the literary genius of Thoreau. In addition to his and Emerson's, there were, among others, metrical contributions from Lowell, Cranch, and William Ellery Channing, the younger, the last-named one of the poets of transcendentalism, now best remembered for the single line,

> If my bark sinks, 'tis to another sea.

The Dial, needless to say, did not satisfy the public. Dozens of parodies, especially of the *Orphic Sayings*, were forthcoming, and (in the words of Colonel Higginson)

> epithets, too, were showered about as freely as imitations; the Philadelphia "Gazette," for instance, calling the editors of the new journal "zanies," "Bedlamites," and "considerably madder than the Mormons."

Alcott, on the other hand, considered its policy tame and compromising. Whatever, between these extremes, our own estimate of its intrinsic merit may be, we shall not be likely to overrate its significance in the history of American literature or the importance of the part it played in our literary emancipation. Its volumes stand as a reminder that the transcendental movement was, among other things, a literary renaissance—the enthusiasm for art and literature which appeared in New

England after the long æsthetic starvation of the Puritan ascendency being comparable in kind if not in degree to the immense artistic expansion of Western Europe after a thousand years of mediæval Christianity.

No one of the leading transcendentalists illustrates this aspect of the movement more completely than does the first editor of *The Dial*, Sarah Margaret Fuller (1810–1850).

The character of Margaret Fuller's childhood and early training is the key to much in her later career. She was brought up by a father whose stern temperament and uncompromising notions on education made him peculiarly unfitted to understand and mould the delicately sensitive nature of his daughter. Under the mental tasks he imposed upon her, her health became impaired and she was overstimulated intellectually and emotionally. All the early part of her life was a struggle against the sentimentalism and self-consciousness which her early education had engendered. As a young woman she was proud and imperious, at times overbearing, in her nature. She could use her tongue sharply and sarcastically, a quality which, combined with a high temper and a tendency to tell the truth, made her many enemies; and gradually, as she became more widely known, out of these hints that she herself supplied, there emerged in the public mind a distorted conception of her personality—a view that still lingers—which made her out a woman of insufferable vanity and masculinity, a veritable intellectual virago. Along with Alcott she became a chief butt of coarse and unsympathetic critics.

As a matter of fact, however, the unloveliest features of Margaret Fuller's personality were but the reverse sides of sterling virtues, and it is to her lasting credit that she lived to master and in the main to outgrow her early defects. The family duties devolving upon her at the death of her father, the sacrifice of long-cherished plans for foreign travel, a brief period of teaching, her work as editor of *The Dial*—these experiences gave her needed self-control and contact with practical problems, and the figure that emerges from them some years later as literary critic of *The New York Tribune* and social and philanthropic worker is an exceedingly able, sensible, and admirable woman.

From her early years, Margaret Fuller read omnivorously (at a rate like Gibbon, Emerson once said). Her linguistic equipment was good, and there is little question that she came to know Continental literature, that of Germany especially, more fully and appreciatively than any other of the transcendentalists. Her choice as editor of *The Dial* therefore was natural. She also put her literary acquirements to use—as did Alcott his educational theories and mystical lore—by holding conversations on Greek mythology and other subjects. While these at the beginning were not free from amateurishness and a narrowly self-cultural ideal, they had deeper qualities, the promise of powers more fully revealed in her *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845) and her collected *Papers on Literature and Art* (1846), which, in spite of their decidedly uneven quality, reveal her on the whole as one of the best equipped, most sympathetic and genuinely philosophical critics produced in America prior to 1850.

Following Miss Fuller's removal to New York, the realistic element in her work grew stronger, her interest in social and political questions increased, and particularly during her three years in Italy from 1847 to 1850—where she was married to the Marquis Ossoli—did her intimate contact with the struggle for Italian freedom broaden and deepen her nature. In fact her career seemed just entering on its most useful phase when it was tragically cut short by her death in the wreck off Fire Island in 1850 of the ship that was bringing her back to New York, a disaster in which her husband and child also perished.

Though her later promise was thus unfulfilled, Margaret Fuller had already accomplished much.

> "It has been one great object of my life," she once declared, "to introduce here the works of those great geniuses, the flower and fruit of a higher state of development, which might give the young who are soon to constitute the state, a higher standard in thought and action than would be demanded of them by their own time. . . . I feel with satisfaction that I have done a good deal to extend the influence of the great minds of Germany and Italy among my compatriots."

She had, in truth, accomplished this, and her words are suggestive of one of the greatest achievements of the transcendental movement on its literary side.

If Margaret Fuller is the literary critic of transcendentalism, Theodore Parker (1810–1860) is its theologian and reformer. Parker was a graduate of Harvard and of the Harvard Divinity School, and held pastorates near or in Boston during the whole of his ministerial career. He carried to its extreme form the theological reaction from eighteenth-century Unitarianism begun by Channing, his South Boston sermon in 1841 on *The Transient and Permanent in Christianity* being generally considered a milestone not only in the history of transcendentalism but in the development of American theology.

Parker, though his nature was not lacking in qualities of engaging simplicity and kindliness, was a man of warlike and aggressive temperament, of indomitable energy whether in thought or action, "our Savonarola," as Emerson called him. During the earlier part of his life, much of his tremendous power of activity was expended upon books, and he became a man of immense erudition, the most widely read member of the transcendental group. His learning, however, savoured a little too much, as Lowell suggested, of an attempt to tear up the whole tree of knowledge by the roots, and he surely misconstrued his own nature when he declared "I was meant for a philosopher, and the times call for a *stump orator*." His mind was in reality more practical than metaphysical in its cast, and it was with the turning of his interest to the slavery question and especially with the arousing of all the fires of his nature at the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law that the tremendous will power and earnestness of the man came out to the full. During the years of this controversy, he interspersed an endless mass of correspondence, lectures, sermons, and addresses with deeds of conspicuous moral and physical courage. He was chairman of the executive committee of the Vigilance Committee, sheltered fugitive slaves in his own house and aided their escape in all ways possible, was indicted but never brought to trial in connection with the famous Burns Affair, and came into intimate relations with John Brown. It was the strain of labours of this sort that led to his premature death in 1860.

These anti-slavery activities of Parker came, of course, after the crest of the transcendental movement, but they are mentioned here as an illustration of that tendency in transcendentalism, already noted in connection with Brook Farm and the life of Margaret Fuller, to pass from its early sentimental and romantic stage into a phase of social or political activity. Parker's life reveals with special clearness the link between transcendentalism and the abolition movement. There is probably little likelihood of exaggerating the relation between a philosophy which taught the divinity of every human soul and the agitation for the freedom of the Southern slaves.

Although the transcendental philosophy was of course only one of many forces that led to abolitionism in New England, the connection between the two is a powerful reminder that, in spite of its underlying unity of spirit, transcendentalism was an exceedingly varied and complex movement. Even the present rapid survey of a few of its characteristic incidents and leading figures has served perhaps to emphasize that fact.

In Channing, for instance, to glance back for a moment, we perceive it as a force mellowing and humanizing the stern Calvinistic tradition and touching with emotion the prosaic rationalism of the Unitarians. In Emerson it shines forth as an unfailing sense of the unity of the soul with God and nature, a religious aspiration constantly translated into incentives toward the noble conduct of life. In Alcott we behold it at first touching education and the child, then volatilizing into clouds of Oriental mysticism. In Margaret Fuller we catch its significance as a literary renaissance, an effort for culture, for criticism, passing over at last into an effort for social betterment—which latter note is struck earlier and more resoundingly in the social Utopianism of Ripley and the other Brook Farmers. In Parker it takes on particularly the form of extreme theological radicalism, a radicalism successfully undergoing the test of practical application in the abolition movement. In Thoreau it is present—in none of the group more ethereally—as a spiritualized feeling for nature, a fine dissolvent of convention, a pervasive and contagious influence toward natural and simple living.

These considerations, together with the implication of such names as Hawthorne, Dana, Curtis, and a dozen others, show how impossible it is not only to define the nature but to fix the limits of transcendentalism. Transcendentalism was, in fact, simply the focus and energizing centre of that larger area of illumination and activity which is coextensive with the whole movement of literary and spiritual expansion that transformed New England during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. For purposes of historical and critical discrimination, to be sure, it is convenient, as we have done, to treat transcendentalism as a distinct and separate movement. But in reality it was not. In reality it was so blended with wider currents of spiritual change that the relation between the two can never be precisely determined. All that can be asserted with any certainty is that the fundamentally religious complexion of New England life makes it a fair presumption that the religious phase of the whole development was as nearly central and determinative as any.

It is equally difficult, as may now be seen more clearly than at the outset of our discussion, to separate the European and the American contributions to transcendentalism. That spirit of freedom, of individualism, of revolution, of romance, which was abroad throughout the Western world during this period, took on a peculiar local colour in New England. Distilled in the New England alembic, French Revolutionary dogmas, German philosophy, Oriental mysticism, assume a semblance that often makes them scarcely recognizable. Yet, however fresh the utterance, an alert sense can usually detect, if not its particular source, at least its general European kinship.

When Emerson in the opening pages of *Nature* exhorts his countrymen to come forth and live their own lives, reminding them that "the sun shines to-day also," we catch echoes of Rousseau's "Man is born free; and is everywhere in chains." When Thoreau proclaims an intention "to brag as lustily as chanticleer in the morning, standing on his roost, if only to wake my neighbours up," we feel that here is the homely New England version of Shelley's cry to the West Wind:

> Be through my lips to unawakened earth
> The trumpet of a prophecy!

When Thoreau, on another occasion, writes that he was not aware "that the capacity to hear the woodpecker had slumbered within me so long," the words have all the spontaneity of underived utterance, and yet who can deny that the peculiar turn of that expression goes back through German or we know not what other channels to Plato and still remoter Eastern sources?

This mention of the East is suggestive of all the weaknesses of transcendentalism: its tendency to neglect proximate and to refer everything to primal causes; its attempt to attain the spiritual not by subduing but by turning its back on the material; its proneness to substitute passivity and receptiveness for alertness and creative force; its traces of a paralysing pantheism and fatalism; its ineffectualness; its atrophy of will. More than a touch of each of these qualities transcendentalism indisputably has; but if this were all there were to it, we should brand it as one more vain revival of a philosophy of life long since proved futile.

But who can doubt that there is in it also something the precise opposite of all this, the strange union of which with its Oriental elements makes it precisely the unique thing it is? Who can doubt that in speaking the last word of transcendentalism we should come back from India, even from Europe, to Concord and Boston? For, at bottom, it is the strong local flavour of it all, a smell of the soil through the universal generalizations, a dash of Yankee practicality in the midst of the Oriental mysticism, a sturdy Puritan pugnacity and grasp of fact underneath its serenest and most Olympian detachments, that gives this movement its reality and grip, and rescues it in large part not only from the ineffectiveness of the East but from the sentimental, the romantic, and the anarchic excesses of many of its related European movements.

These men were no mere dreamers. Emerson resigning his pulpit rather than administer the Lord's Supper or pray when he did not feel like praying, Thoreau going to jail for a refusal to pay his taxes, Alcott closing his school sooner than dismiss a coloured pupil (yes! even Alcott planting "aspiring" vegetables), Parker risking reputation and life in the anti-slavery crusade—these are typical examples of the fact that when these men were put to the test of acting up to their principles they were not found wanting. The Puritan character was the rock on which transcendentalism was built.

How inherent in the religious development of New England that character has been may be seen by glancing at three of her foremost spiritual figures: Jonathan Edwards, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and William James (James, curiously enough, though a New Englander only by adoption, being scarcely less representative of the most recent phase of New England religious evolution than Emerson and Edwards were of two of its earlier stages). Edwards, the last great apostle of theocratic dogmatism; Emerson, the prophet of a generation of romantic aspiration; James, the pragmatic philosopher of a scientific and democratic age—how far apart, at first thought, they seem! And not merely far apart, but often hostile. Emerson gave much of his best effort to demolishing the remnants of the Calvinistic structure Edwards had done so much to fortify. James's career was one long assault on that philosophy of the Absolute which is the intellectualized counterpart of the religion of the Over-Soul. The respective attitudes of the three men toward nature well illustrate their differences. To Edwards, in spite of his feeling for natural beauty, nature is essentially evil and is consistently set over against grace, which is of God. To Emerson, God and Nature are merely two aspects of a single spirit. To James, endlessly interesting as the natural world is in its instrumental capacity, in any ultimate sense nature is merely "so much weather." And yet, under analysis, such distinctions turn out to be partly nominal and relatively superficial, for, deeper than all their differences of doctrine, there is a community of spirit among these men, a something central and controlling in them all, something which in its day was the driving force of transcendentalism, the innate idealism and individualism of the New England mind.

CHAPTER IX

Emerson

IT becomes more and more apparent that Emerson, judged by an international or even by a broad national standard, is the outstanding figure of American letters. Others may have surpassed him in artistic sensitiveness, or, to a criticism averse to the stricter canons of form and taste, may seem to be more original or more broadly national than he, but as a steady force in the transmutation of life into ideas and as an authority in the direction of life itself he has obtained a recognition such as no other of his countrymen can claim. And he owes this pre-eminence not only to his personal endowment of genius, but to the fact also that, as the most perfect exponent of a transient experiment in civilization, he stands for something that the world is not likely to let die.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, born in Boston, 25 May, 1803, gathered into himself the very quintessence of what has been called the Brahminism of New England, as transmitted through the Bulkeleys, the Blisses, the Moodys, and the direct paternal line. Peter Bulkeley, preferring the wilderness of Satan to Laudian conformity, founded Concord in 1636; William Emerson, his descendant in the fifth generation, was builder of the Old Manse in the same town and a sturdy preacher to the minute-men at the beginning of the Revolution; and of many other ministerial ancestors stories abound which show how deeply implanted in this stock was the pride of rebellion against traditional forms and institutions, united with a determination to force all mankind to worship God in the spirit. With William, son of him of Concord and father of our poet, the fires of zeal began to wane. Though the faithful pastor of the First Church (Unitarian) of Boston, it is recorded of him that he entered the ministry against his will. Yet he too had his unfulfilled dream of "coming out" by establishing a church in Washington which should require no sort of profession of faith. He died when the future philosopher was a boy of ten, leaving the family to shift for itself as best it could. Mrs. Emerson cared for the material welfare of the household by taking in boarders. The chief intellectual guidance fell to the Aunt Mary Moody Emerson, of whom her nephew drew a portrait in his *Lectures and Biographies*. "She gave high counsels," he says. Indubitably she did; but a perusal of her letters and of the extracts from her journals leaves the impression that the pure but dislocated enthusiasms of her mind served rather to push Emerson in the direction of his weaker inclination than to fortify him against himself. When a balloon is tugging at its moorings there may be need of low counsels.

In 1817, Emerson entered Harvard College, and in due course of time graduated. Then, after teaching for a while in his brother's school in Boston, he returned to Cambridge to study for the ministry, and was in the autumn of 1826 licensed to preach. Three years later he was called, first as assistant to Henry Ware, to the Second Church of Boston. His ministration there was quietly successful, but brief. In 1832, he gave up his charge on the ground that he could not conscientiously celebrate the Communion, even in the symbolic form customary among the Unitarians. He was for the moment much adrift, his occupation gone, his health broken, his wife lost after a short period of happiness. In this state he went abroad to travel in Italy, France, and England. One memorable incident of the journey must be recorded, his visit to Carlyle at Craigenputtock, with all that it entailed of friendship and influence; but beyond that he returned with little more baggage than he took with him. He now made his residence in Concord, living first with his mother and then with his second wife. Thenceforth there was to be no radical change in his life, but only the gradual widening of the circle. The house that he now bought he continued to inhabit until it was burned down in 1872; and then his friends, in a manner showing exemplary tact, subscribed money for rebuilding it on the same lines. For a number of years he preached in various pulpits, and once even considered the call to a settled charge in New Bedford, but he could not overcome his aversion to the ritual of the Lord's Supper and to regular prayers.

Meanwhile, by the medium of lectures delivered here and there and by printed essays, he was making of himself a kind of lay preacher to the world. His method of working out the more characteristic of these discourses has long been known: he would commonly select a theme, and then ransack his notebooks for pertinent passages which could be strung together with the addition of such developing and connecting material as was necessary. But since the publication of his *Journals* it has been possible to follow him more precisely in this procedure and to see more clearly how it conforms with the inmost structure of his mind. These remarkable records were begun in early youth and continued, though at the close in the form of brief memoranda, to the end of his life. The first entry preserved (not the first written, for it is from *Blotting Book No. XVII*) dates from his junior year at college and contains notes for a prize dissertation on the Character of Socrates. Among the sentences is this:

> What is God? said the disciples, and Plato replied, It is hard to learn and impossible to divulge.

And the last page of the record, in the twelfth volume, repeats what is really the same thought:

> The best part of truth is certainly that which hovers in gleams and suggestions unpossessed before man. His recorded knowledge is dead and cold. But this chorus of thoughts and hopes, these dawning truths, like great stars just lifting themselves into his horizon, they are his future, and console him for the ridiculous brevity and meanness of his civic life.

There is of course much variety of matter in the *Journals*—shrewd observations on men and books, chronicles of the day's events, etc.—but through it all runs this thread of self-communion, the poetry, it might be called, of the New England conscience deprived of its concrete deity and buoying itself on gleams and suggestions of eternal beauty and holiness. Of the same stuff, not seldom indeed of the same words, are those essays of his that have deeply counted; they are but a repetition to the world of fragments of this long inner conversation.

Where they fail to reach the reader's heart, it is not because they are fundamentally disjointed, as if made up of sentences jostled together like so many mutually repellent particles; but because from the manner of his composition Emerson often missed what he might have learned from Plato's *Phaedrus* was the essence of good rhetoric, that is to say, the consciousness of his hearer's mind as well as of his own. We hear him, as it were, talking to himself, with no attempt to convince by argument or enlighten by analysis. If our dormant intuition answers to his, we are profoundly kindled and confirmed; otherwise his sentences may rattle ineffectually about our ears.

Emerson's first published work was *Nature* (1836), which contains the gist of his transcendental attitude towards the phenomenal world, as a kind of beautiful symbol of the inner spiritual life, floating dreamlike before the eye, yet, it is to be noted, having discipline as one of its lessons for the attentive soul. The most characteristic and influential of his books are the two volumes of *Essays*, issued respectively in 1841 and 1844. In the former of these are those great discourses on *Self-Reliance*, *Compensation*, and *The Over-Soul*, into which was distilled the very quintessence of the volatile and heady liquid known as Emersonianism. Other volumes followed in due course. The latter publications, however, beginning with *Letters and Social Aims* (1875), are made up mainly of gleanings from the field already harvested, and were even gathered by hands not his own.

Two of his addresses (now both included in the volume with *Nature*) deserve special notice for the attention they attracted at the time. The first of these is the oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard, in 1837, a high but scarcely practical appeal to the American scholar to raise himself above the dust of pedantries, even out of the routine of what is "decent, indolent, complaisant," and to reach after the inspiration of "the Divine Soul which also inspires all men." The other lecture was delivered the next year before the senior class in Divinity College, Cambridge, and held up to the prospective preacher about the same ideal as was presented to the scholar. Historical Christianity is condemned because "it is not the doctrine of the soul, but an exaggeration of the personal, the positive, the ritual. It has dwelt, it dwells, with noxious exaggeration about the *person* of Jesus." The founder of Christianity saw, indeed, "with open eye the mystery of the soul," but what as a man he saw and knew of man's divinity cannot be given to man to-day by instruction, but only on the terms of a like intuition. The Unitarians of Massachusetts had travelled far from the Calvinistic creed of the Pilgrim Fathers, but Emerson's suave displacement of the person of Jesus for the "chorus of thoughts and hopes" in any human soul, perhaps even more his implicit rejection of all rites and institutions, raised loud protest among the worshippers of the day. For the most part he answered the criticism by silence, but in a letter replying to one of the more courteous of his opponents he used these significant words:

> I could not give an account of myself, if challenged. I could not possibly give you one of the "arguments" you cruelly hint at, on which any doctrine of mine stands; for I do not know what arguments are in reference to any expression of a thought.

There may be some guile in this pretence to complete intellectual innocence, but it is nevertheless a fair statement of a literary method which seeks, and obtains, its effect by throwing a direct light into the soul of the hearer and bidding him look there and acknowledge what he sees.

Of the events of these years there is not much to relate. A journey to Europe, in 1847, resulted in the only two of his books which may be said to have been composed as units: *Representative Men* (published in 1850, from a series of lectures delivered in London), which displays Emerson's great powers as an ethical critic, in the larger use of that phrase, and *English Traits* (1856), which proves that his eyes were observing the world about him with Yankee shrewdness all the while that he seemed to be gazing into transcendental clouds. Into the question of slavery and disunion which was now agitating the country, he entered slowly. It was natural that one to whom the power and meaning of institutions had little appeal and to whom liberty was the all-including virtue, should have been drawn to the side of the Abolitionists, but at first there was a philosophical aloofness in his attitude. Only after the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law and Webster's defection were his passions deeply engaged. Then he spoke ringing words:

> There is infamy in the air. I have a new experience. I awake in the morning with a painful sensation, which I carry about all day, and which, when traced home, is the odious remembrance of that ignominy which has fallen on Massachusetts, which robs the landscape of beauty, and takes the sunshine out of every hour.

And the war came to him as a welcome relief from a situation which had grown intolerable.

A third trip to Europe was made in 1872, when his central will was already loosening and his faculties were losing their edge. It was at this time that Charles Eliot Norton talked with Carlyle, and heard the old man, eight years older than Emerson, expatiate on the fundamental difference in their tempers. And on the voyage home in the same boat, Norton, who so fully represents the judgment of New England, had much conversation with Emerson, and recorded his opinion in words that, whether welcome or not, should not be forgotten:

> Emerson was the greatest talker in the ship's company. He talked with all men, and yet was fresh and zealous for talk at night. His serene sweetness, the pure whiteness of his soul, the reflection of his soul in his face, were never more apparent to me; but never before in intercourse with him had I been so impressed with the limits of his mind. His optimistic philosophy has hardened into a creed, with the usual effects of a creed in closing the avenues of truth. He can accept nothing as fact that tells against his dogma. His optimism becomes a bigotry, and, though of a nobler type than the common American conceit of the preeminent excellence of American things as they are, has hardly less of the quality of fatalism. To him this is the best of all possible worlds, and the best of all possible times. He refuses to believe in disorder or evil. . . . But such inveterate and persistent optimism, though it may show only its pleasant side in such a character as Emerson's, is dangerous doctrine for a people. It degenerates into fatalistic indifference to moral considerations, and to personal responsibilities; it is at the root of much of the irrational sentimentalism in our American politics, of much of our national disregard of honour in our public men, of much of our unwillingness to accept hard truths, and of much of the common tendency to disregard the distinctions

between right and wrong, and to excuse guilt on the plea of good intentions or good nature.[1]

For some time there had been a gradual relaxation of Emerson's hold on life. Though always an approachable man and fond of conversation, there was in him a certain lack of human warmth, of "bottom," to use his own word, which he recognized and deplored. Commenting in his *Journal* (24 May, 1864) on the burial of Hawthorne, he notes the statement of James Freeman Clarke that the novelist had "shown a sympathy with the crime in our nature," and adds: "I thought there was a tragic element in the event, that might be more fully rendered,—in the painful solitude of the man, which, I suppose, could not longer be endured, and he died of it." A touch of this romantic isolation, though never morose or "painful," there was in himself, a failure to knit himself strongly into the bonds of society. "I have felt sure of him," he says of Hawthorne in the same passage, "in his neighbourhood, and in his necessities of sympathy and intelligence,—that I could well wait his time,—his unwillingness and caprice,—and might one day conquer a friendship. . . . Now it appears that I waited too long." Eighteen years later, standing by the body of Longfellow, he was heard to say: "That gentleman was a sweet, beautiful soul, but I have entirely forgotten his name." Such forgetfulness, like a serene and hazy cloud, hovered over Emerson's brain in his closing years. A month afterwards, on 27 April, 1882, he himself faded away peacefully.

To one who examines the events of Emerson's quiet life with a view to their spiritual bearing it will appear that his most decisive act was the surrender of his pulpit in 1832. Nearly a century earlier, in 1750, the greatest of American theologians had suffered what now befell the purest of American seers; and though the manner of their parting was different (Jonathan Edwards had been unwillingly ejected, whereas Emerson left with good will on both sides), yet there is significance in the fact that the cause of separation in both cases was the administration of the Lord's Supper. Nor is there less significance in the altered attitude of the later man towards this vital question. Both in a way turned from the ritualistic and traditional use of the Communion, and in this showed themselves leaders of the spirit which had carried the New England Fathers across the ocean as rebels against the Laudian tyranny of institutions. Edwards had revolted against the practice of Communion as a mere act of acquiescence in the authority of religion; he was determined that only those should approach the Table who could give evidence of a true conversion, by conversion meaning a complete emotional realization of the dogma of divine Grace and election. The eucharist was not a rite by conforming with which in humility men were to be made participators in the larger religious experience of the race, but a jealously guarded privilege of the few who already knew themselves set apart from the world. He was attempting to push to its logical issue the Puritan notion of religion as a matter of individual and inward experience, and if he failed it was because life can never be rigidly logical and because the worshippers of his day were already beginning to lose their intellectual grasp on the Calvinistic creed.[1] By Emerson's time, among the Unitarians of Boston, there could be no question of ritualistic grace or absolute conversion, but his act, nevertheless, like that of Edwards, was the intrusion of unyielding consistency among those who were content to rest in habit and compromise. In his old age Emerson gave this account of his conduct to Charles Eliot Norton:

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[1] *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. 1, pp. 503 and 506.

> He had come to the conviction that he could not administer the Lord's Supper as a divinely appointed, sacred ordinance of religion. And, after much debate with himself, he told his people that he could henceforth conduct the service only as a memorial service, without attributing to it any deeper significance. A parish meeting was held; the parish, though most kindly affected to him, could not bring themselves to accept his view,—it would be tantamount to admitting that they were no longer Christians. He resigned his charge, but an effort was made to induce him to remain, he administering the Lord's Supper in his sense, the people receiving it in theirs. But he saw that such an arrangement was impossible, and held to his resignation.[2]

Emerson had come to the inevitable conclusion of New England individualism; he had, in a word, "come out." Edwards had denied the communal efficacy, so to speak, of rites, but had insisted on inner conformity with an established creed. Emerson disavowed even a conformity in faith, demanding in its stead the entire liberty of each soul to rise on its own spiritual impulse. He was perspicacious and honest enough to acknowledge to himself the danger of such a stand. "I know very well," he wrote in his journal at the time of his decision, "that it is a bad sign in a man to be too conscientious, and stick at gnats. The most desperate scoundrels have been the over-refiners. Without accommodation society is impracticable." But, he adds, he could "not go habitually to an institution which they esteem holiest with indifference and dislike"; and again, looking deeper into his heart, "This is the end of my opposition, that I am not interested in it."

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[1] See also Book I, Chaps. IV and V.

[2] *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. I, p. 509.

Emerson's act of renunciation was not only important as determining the nature of his career, but significant also of the transition of New England from theological dogmatism to romantic liberty. Much has been written about the influences that shaped his thoughts and about the relation of his transcendentalism to German metaphysics. In his later years it is clear that the speculations of Kant and Schelling and Fichte were known to him and occasionally coloured his language, but his *Journals* prove conclusively enough that the whole stamp of his mind was taken before these sources were open to him. Indirectly, no doubt, something of the German spirit came to him pretty early through Carlyle, and a passage in his *Journal* for 13 December, 1829, shows that he was at that time already deeply engaged in the Teutonized rhapsodies of Coleridge. But it would be easy to lay too much stress even on this indirect affiliation. Long before that date, as early as his senior year in college, he is yearning "to separate the soul for sublime contemplation till it has lost the sense of circumstances," and otherwise giving implicit expression to the full circle of transcendental faith. He was in fact a product of the great romantic movement that was sweeping over the world as it listed; his ideas, so far as they came to him from books, go back mainly to the Greek philosophers and the poets and preachers of seventeenth-century England, as these were interpreted under the light of the new movement. When he declared, in *Nature*, that "the vision of genius comes by renouncing the too officious activity of the understanding, and giving leave and amplest privilege to the spontaneous sentiment," he was stating in precise terms an idea familiar to Blake and to the romanticists of every land—the elevation of enthusiasm above judgment, of emotion above reason, of spontaneity above discipline, and of unlimited expansion above centripetal control. But there was another element as strongly formative of Emerson's disposition as was the current of romanticism, and that was his ancestral inheritance. Romantic spontaneity moved in various directions in accordance with the field in which it worked; in an Emerson, with all the divinity of Massachusetts in his veins, it might move to repudiate theological dogma and deny Jehovah, but it could not get out of hearing of the question "What is God?" It could not fall into the too common confusion of spiritual aspiration with the sicklier lusts of the flesh; it could never, for all its centrifugal wandering, overstep the bounds of character. Emersonianism may be defined as romanticism rooted in Puritan divinity.

In literary form and style the privilege of spontaneous sentiment showed itself with Emerson not in that fluency which in many of his contemporaries meant mere longwindedness, but in the habit of waiting for the momentary inspiration to the neglect of meditated construction and regularity. He has indeed succeeded in sustaining himself to the end in three or four poems of some compass, but his noblest work in verse must be sought in those quatrains which need no context for their comprehension and might be called spiritual ejaculations. Matthew Arnold has quoted for approval the two familiar stanzas,

> So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
>   So near is God to man,
> When Duty whispers low, *Thou must*,
>   The youth replies, *I can*.

and,

> Though love repine and reason chafe,
>   There came a voice without reply:
> "'Tis man's perdition to be safe,
>   When for the truth he ought to die."

These quatrains are, he says, "exceptional" in Emerson. They are that, and something more: they are exceptional in literature. One would have to search far to find anything in English equal to them in their own kind. They have the cleanness and radiance of the couplets of Simonides. They may look easy, but as a matter of fact the ethical epigram is an extremely difficult *genre*, and to attain this union of gravity and simplicity requires the nicest art. Less epigrammatic in tone but even more exquisitely finished are the lines entitled *Days*, pre-eminent in his works for what may truly be called a haunting beauty:

> Daughters of Time, the hypocritic Days,
> Muffled and dumb like barefoot dervishes,
> And marching single in an endless file,
> Bring diadems and faggots in their hands.
> To each they offer gifts after his will,
> Bread, kingdoms, stars, and sky that holds them all.
> I, in my pleachèd garden, watched the pomp,
> Forgot my morning wishes, hastily
> Took a few herbs and apples, and the Day
> Turned and departed silent. I, too late,
> Under her solemn fillet saw the scorn.

And as his verse, so is his prose. Though in one sense, so far as he writes always with two or three dominant ideas in his mind, he is one of the most consistent and persistent of expositors, yet he is really himself only in those moments of inspiration when his words strike with almost irresistible force on the heart, and awake an echoing response: "This is true; this I have myself dimly felt." Sometimes the memorable paragraph or sentence is purely didactic; sometimes it is highly metaphorical, as is the case with the closing paragraph of the *Conduct of Life:*

> There is no chance, and no anarchy, in the universe. All is system and gradation. Every god is there sitting in his sphere. The young mortal enters the hall of the firmament; there is he alone with them alone, they pouring on him benedictions and gifts, and beckoning him up to their thrones. On the instant, and incessantly, fall snowstorms of illusions. He fancies himself in a vast crowd which sways this way and that, and whose movement and doings

> he must obey: he fancies himself poor, orphaned, insignificant. The mad crowd drives hither and thither, now furiously commanding this thing to be done, now that. What is he that he should resist their will, and think or act for himself? Every moment, new changes, and new showers of deceptions, to baffle and distract him. And when, by and by, for an instant, the air clears, and the cloud lifts a little, there are the gods still sitting around him on their thrones,—they alone with him alone.

There is, it need scarcely be said, a good deal in the works of Emerson—literary criticism, characterization of men and movements, reflection on the state of society—which lies outside of this ethical category; but even in such essays his guiding ideas are felt in the background. Nor are these ideas hard to discover. The whole circle of them, ever revolving upon itself, is likely to be present, explicit or implicit, in any one of his great passages, as it is in the paragraph just cited—the clear call to self-reliance, announcing that "a man should learn to detect and watch that gleam of light which flashes across his mind from within"; the firm assurance that, through all the balanced play of circumstance, "there is a deeper fact in the soul than compensation, to wit, its own nature"; the intuition, despite all the mists of illusion, of the Over-Soul which is above us and still ourselves: "We live in succession, in division, in parts, in particles; meanwhile within man is the soul of the whole; the wise silence; the universal beauty . . .; the eternal *One*."

Emerson's philosophy is thus a kind of reconciled dualism, and a man's attitude towards it in the end will be determined by his sense of its sufficiency or insufficiency to meet the facts of experience. One of Emerson's biographers has attempted to set forth this philosophy as "a synthesis and an anticipation." It is a synthesis because in it we find, as Emerson had already found in Plato and Plotinus, a reconciliation of "the many and the one," the everlasting flux and the motionless calm at the heart of things:

> An ample and generous recognition of this transiency and slipperiness both in the nature of things and in man's soul seems more and more a necessary ingredient in any estimate of the universe which shall satisfy the intellect of the coming man. But it seems equally true that the coming man who shall resolve our

> problems will never content himself with a universe a-tilt, a universe in cascade, so to speak; the craving for permanence in some form cannot be jauntily evaded. Is there any known mind which foreshadows the desired combination so clearly as Emerson's? Who has felt more profoundly the evanescence and evasiveness of things? . . . Yet Emerson was quite as firm in his insistence on a single unalterable reality as in his refusal to believe that any aspect or estimate of that reality could be final.[1]

The necessity of the dualism that underlies Emerson's philosophy could scarcely be put more neatly, and the kind of synthesis, or reconciliation, in which Emerson floated is admirably expressed. But it is not so plain that this synthesis anticipates the solution of the troublesome problems of life. There will be those who will ask whether the power of religion for mature minds does not depend finally on its feeling for evil. How otherwise, in fact, shall religion meet those harder questions of experience when its aid is most needed? And in like manner they will say that the power of philosophy as the *dux vitae* depends on its acquaintance with the scope and difficulties of scepticism. Both religion and philosophy would seem, in such a view, to rest not only on a statement of the dualism of good and evil, knowledge and ignorance, but on a realization of the full meaning and gravity, practical and intellectual, of this dualism. Now Emerson certainly recognizes the dualism of experience, but it is a fair question whether he realizes its full meaning and seriousness. He accepts it a trifle too jauntily, is reconciled to its existence with no apparent pang, is sometimes too ready to wave aside its consequences, as if a statement of the fact were an escape from its terrible perplexities. Carlyle meant something of the sort when he worried over Emerson's inability to see the hand of the devil in human life. Hence it is that Emerson often loses value for his admirers in proportion to their maturity and experience. He is above all the poet of religion and philosophy for the young; whereas men, as they grow older, are inclined to turn from him, in their more serious moods, to those sages who have supplemented insight with a firm grasp of the darker facts of human nature. That is undoubtedly true; nevertheless, as time passes, the deficiencies of this brief period of New England, of which

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[1] O. W. Firkins, *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, p. 364.

Emerson was the perfect spokesman, may well be more and more condoned for its rarity and beauty. One of the wings of the spirit is hope, and nowhere is there to be found a purer hope than in the books of our New England sage; rather, it might be said that he went beyond hope to the assurance of present happiness. The world had never before seen anything quite of this kind, and may not see its like again.

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CHAPTER I

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—— Collection of Original Papers relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Boston, 1769.

Hosmer, J. K. Life of Thomas Hutchinson. Boston, 1896.

CHAPTER III

THE PURITAN DIVINES, 1620–1720

It is not possible within the compass of the present work to give a full bibliography of the New England divines. It has seemed best, therefore, to give a fairly adequate list of the writings of the better known men, supplemented by important contemporary material in biography and criticism, as well as later suggestive titles.

In making selection of the writers to be treated, the editor has been guided mainly by the political significance of the men—a consideration which has entailed the omission of influential ministers like Thomas Shepard, Charles Chauncy, John Wilson, John Norton, and John Davenport, of the emigrant generation; and of Benjamin Colman, Benjamin Wadsworth, Solomon Stoddard, and Samuel Willard, of the native generations. How greatly the bibliography would be added to if these men were included, becomes evident from a glance at such a work as Evans' American Bibliography. Of the four last named there were published in America alone, prior to 1730, 186 titles, including Willard's Compleat Body of Divinity, in two hundred and fifty expository Lectures, the first folio of divinity, and the largest work till then published in America. The emigrant generation was greatly hampered by the lack of an adequate press near at hand; but with the development of such a press, the quantity of output was enormously increased, and during the days of Puritan decline, New England rather than old England was the prolific home of theological controversy. The difficulties of making a bibliography of the field are very great, and in spite of the many special studies by various scholars drawn upon, it is scarcely to be hoped that numerous errors will not have crept in; care has been taken, however, to make it as trustworthy as possible. A few titles of general authorities are included by way of suggestion.

GENERAL AUTHORITIES

Dexter, Henry M. The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, as Seen in its Literature. With a Bibliographical Appendix. 1880. (An excellent history and indispensable for its bibliographical information.)

Masson, David. Life of Milton. 6 vols. London, 1859–1880. (Valuable for the English backgrounds of Puritanism.)

Mather, Cotton. Magnalia Christi Americana. London, 1702. Hartford, 2 vols., 1820, 1853. (An indispensable source-book, but not reliable.)

Sprague, W. B. Annals of the American Pulpit. 1857. Vols. I and VI.

Tyler, M. C. A History of American Literature during the Colonial Period. 2 vols. 1897.

Walker, Williston. A History of the Congregational Churches in the United States. 1900. American Church History, vol. III. (Contains an excellent bibliography of criticism.)

Winsor, Justin. Memorial History of Boston. 4 vols. Boston, 1880–86.

I. JOHN COTTON (1585–1652)

The following list of Cotton's writings has been compiled from the British Museum Catalogue, Winsor's Catalogue of the Prince Library, Dexter's Collections toward a Bibliography of Congregationalism, and Evans' American Bibliography; supplemented from various other sources.

A. *Separate Works*

(1) Gods Promise to his Plantation. 2 Sam. 7.10. Etc. London, 1630, 1634. Boston, 1686. Reprinted in Old South Leaflets, no. 53 and New. Eng. Hist. & Gen. Reg. II. See Mead in Biography and Criticism. (2) How far Moses Judicialls bind Mass[achusetts]. Printed with introd. by W. C. Ford, in Mass.

Hist. Soc. Proc. Sec. Series, 16, 274–284. Assigned by the ed. to 1636 [?], and believed to be a copy of Moses his Judicials. (3) A Letter from Mr Cotton to Lord Say and Seal in the Year 1636. Printed in Hutchinson, Hist. Mass. Bay, 1, 496–501. (4) An Abstract of the Lawes of New England as they are now established. London, 1641, 1655. Reprinted in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. First Series, v, 173; in Force Tracts, III, 1844; and by the Prince Soc. 1865. [See no. 2 above.] (5) A coppy of a letter of Mr Cotton of Boston in New England, sent in answer of certaine objections made against the discipline and orders there. [London], 1641. (6) Gods Mercie mixed with his Justice: or, his peoples deliverance in time of danger laid open in severall sermons. London, 1641. [See no. 44.] (7) The Way of Life. Or, Gods way and course, in bringing the Soule into . . . the wayes of life and peace. London, 1641. In the Prince Library Cat. the title is given thus: The Way of Life. In foure Treatises. The pouring out of the Spirit, Sins deadly wound, The Christians Charge, the life of Faith. London, 1641. (8) A Brief Exposition of the whole Book of Canticles . . . a Work very usefull and seasonable to every Christian: but especially such as endeavour and thirst after the setling of Church and State according to the Rule and Pattern of the Word of God, etc. London, 1642, 1648, 1655. (9) The Churches Resurrection, or the Opening of The Fift and sixt verses of the 20th Chap. of the Revelation. London, 1642. (10) The Doctrine of the Church, to which are committed the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven. [London], 1642. Second ed. same year. Third ed. "according to a more exact copy . . . and some few proofes and wordes added, etc." London, 1643. Another form, Questions and Answers upon Church Government, in a Treatise of Faith, etc., [?, 1713?] in Yale Univ. Lib. gives date, "begun 25. 11 M. 1634." (11) A Modest and Cleare Answer to Mr. Balls Discourse on set formes of Prayer. London, [1642.] (12) The Powring out of the Seven Vials; or an Exposition of the 16. Chapter of the Revelation, . . . with an Application of it to our Times, etc. [London] 1642, 1645. (13) The True Constitution of a particular visible Church proved by Scripture, etc. London, 1642. (14) Discourse about civil government in a new plantation whose design is Religion. [London], 1643. Re-issued with a slightly different title. Cambridge, 1663. [Assigned to J. Davenport by C. Mather. Cotton's name is on the title page.] (15) A Letter . . . to Mr Williams . . . Wherein is shewed, That those ought to be received into the Church who are Godly, though they doe not see, nor expressly bewaile all the pollutions in Church-fellowship, Ministery, Worship, Government. London, 1643. Reprinted, with introd. by R. A. Guild, in Narr. Club. Pub. 1, 287–311. (16) The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven, and Power thereof, according to the Word of God . . . tending to reconcile some present differences about Discipline, etc. London, 1644. Re-issued the same year, [minor variations in the title-page]. Boston, 1852. (17) Sixteene questions . . . propounded unto Mr John Cotton, of Boston in New England. Together with his Answers to each Question. London, 1644. [See no. 20.] (18) The Covenant of Gods free grace most sweetly unfolded, etc. London, 1645. (19) The Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England, or the Way of Churches walking in Brotherly equalitie, etc. London, 1645. [This and The Keyes were replied to in 1645, in a tract, Vindiciae Clavium . . . manifesting . . . the Middle-way (so called) of Independents, to be the Extreme, or By-way of the Brownists, etc.] (20) A Conference at Boston With the Elders of New-England, With The Difference between the Christian and Antichristian Church. [The latter by F. Cornwell.] London, 1646. [Another version of no. 17.] (21) The Controversie concerning liberty of conscience in matters of Religion truly stated . . . by way of answer to some arguments . . . sent unto him [by Roger Williams], etc. London, 1646, 1649.

(22) Milk for Babes drawn out of the Breasts of both Testaments, chiefly for the spirituall nourishment of Boston babes in either England, etc. London, 1646. Reprinted in Cambridge 1656, with title, Spirituall Milk for Boston Babes in either England. Drawn out of the Breasts of both Testaments for their souls nourishment. But may be of like use to any children. London, 1668. Boston, 1690. With Indian translation by Grindal Rawson, Cambridge, 1691. Included in the Indiane Primer, Boston, 1720. (23) Severall Questions of Serious and necessary Consequence, Propounded by the Teaching Elders unto Mr. J. C. . . with his respective Answers to each Question. [London], 1646, 1647. [See nos. 17 and 20 above. The questions seem to have excited great interest in England, as the different forms under which the original work was re-issued, testify.] (24) A treatise of Mr Cottons, clearing certaine doubts concerning Predestination. Together with an examination thereof . . . by W. Twisse. London, 1646. [The title is deceptive; the work does not contain Cotton's treatise.] (25) The Bloudy Tenent, Washed, And made white in the bloud of the Lamb: being discussed and discharged of bloud-guiltinesse by just Defence . . . Whereunto is added a Reply to Mr. Williams Answer, to Mr. Cottons Letter. London, 1647. (26) The Grounds and Ends of the Baptisme of the children of the Faithfull, etc. London, 1647. (27) A Reply to Mr. Williams his Examination; And Answer of the Letters sent to him by John Cotton. London, 1647. Reprinted, with introd. by J. L. Diman, Narr. Club Pub. II, 1–240. [See no. 25.] (28) Singing of Psalmes, a Gospel-Ordinance. London, 1647, 1650. (29) Ad Lectorem Praefatio Apologetica. Prefixed to J. Norton's Responsio ad Totam Quaestionem, etc. [London] 1648. (30) The Way of Congregational Churches cleared: in two treatises: etc. London, 1648. [Some copies bound with Hooker's Survey, with a general title.] (31) A Platform of Church discipline gathered out of the word of God: and agreed upon . . . in the Synod at Cambridge in New-England. Etc. Cambridge, 1649. [Probably the joint work of Cotton and R. Mather.] (32) Christ the fountaine of life, etc. London, 1650. (33) Of the Holinesse of Church Members. London, 1650. (34) Letter to the "Lord General Cromwell." 1651. Prince Soc. Pub. I: 262–265. See Cromwell's Letter to Cotton. New Hamp. Hist. Soc. Col. I. (35) Verses, prefixed to S. Stone's Congregational Church is a Catholike Visible Church. 1652. (36) A Briefe Exposition . . . upon . . . Ecclesiastes. London, 1654. Sec. ed. "Corrected." 1657. (37) Certain Queries Tending to Accommodation and Communion of Presbyterian & Congregationall Churches. London, 1654. (38) The New Covenant, or, manner of giving and receiving of the Covenant of Grace to the Elect. The substance of sundry Sermons. London, 1654. (39) The Result of a Synod at Cambridge, concerning The Power of Magistrates [and] Synods; etc. London, 1654. (40) The Covenant of Grace . . . Whereunto are added: Certain Queries tending to Accommodation . . . Also, A Discussion of the Civill Magistrates Power in matters of Religion. London, 1655. [A general title covering the three tracts issued the preceding year.] (41) An exposition upon the thirteenth chapter of the Revelation. London, 1655, 1656. (42) A Practicall Commentary . . . with observations . . . upon the First Epistle Generall of John. London, 1656. 2d ed. "Inlarged," 1658. (43) A Defence From the imputation of Selfe Contradiction, charged on him by Dan: Cawdrey. Oxford, 1658. [Prefixed is J. Owen's Answer to Cawdrey about Schisme.] (44) The Saints Support & Comfort in The Time of Distress and Danger, With divers other Treatises, etc. [A re-issue under different title of no. 6.] (45) A Treatise of The covenant of Grace, As it is dispensed to the Elect Seed. The substance of divers Sermons. London, 1659. [A 2d ed., under different title, of no. 18.] (46) A Sermon preached . . . at Salem. 1636.

To which is prefixed, a Retraction of his former opinion concerning baptism. Boston, 1713. (47) A Treatise. I. Of Faith. II. Twelve . . . articles of Christian religion. III. A doctrinal conclusion. IV. Questions & Answers upon Church-government. [Boston], 1713. (48) In manuscript. Notes of Cotton's sermons, preserved by I. Mather. Also, sermons. In Amer. Antiquar. Soc. Lib., Worcester, Mass.

B. *Biography and Criticism*

Considerable biographical material will be found in Winthrop's Journal. For Cotton's position in the Mrs. Hutchinson case, fairly full records have been preserved in accounts of the trial, in Hutchinson, Hist. Mass. Bay, ii, Appendix 2, 482–520; and in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. Sec. Series, 4, 159–191. A suggestive discussion is given in C. F. Adams' Three Episodes of Massachusetts History, Part ii, The Antinomian Controversy. See also the Cotton Papers, in the Prince Library, listed in Winsor's catalogue, 150. No satisfactory life of Cotton has been written.

A censure of . . . J. C., lately of New-England upon the way of M^{r} Hendon; expressed in some animadversions of his upon a letter of M^{r} Hendons, sometimes sent to M^{r} Elmeston, etc. [Two other parts.] London, 1656.

Blenkin, G. B. Boston, England, and John Cotton in 1621. N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. 28.

Brooks, William Gray. John Cotton, "The Father of Boston." [With portrait.] New Eng. Mag. Feb., 1887.

Cawdrey, Daniel. The Inconsistencie of the Independent way, With Scripture, and It Self. . . . I. Vindiciarum with Mr. Cotton. Etc. London, 1651.

Clarke, Sam. Lives of Ten Eminent Divines. London, 1662.

Ellis, Geo. E. John Cotton in Church and State. International Review. 1880.

Emerson, Wm. An Historical Sketch of the 1st Church in Boston, from its formation to the present period, etc. Boston, 1812.

Ford, W. C. John Cotton's Moses, his judicials and abstract of the Laws of New England. Cambridge, 1902. Reprinted from Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.

Gray, F. C. Remarks on the Early Laws of Mass. Bay, etc. 3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. viii. [A Consideration of Cotton's share in forming the Body of Liberties.]

Hubbard, Rev. Wm. General History of New England. Chapters, 37–40. 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. v.

Maclure, A. W. Lives of the Chief Fathers of New England. Vol. i. 1870.

Mather, Cotton. Johannes in Eremo. Memoirs, Relating to the Lives of the Ever-Memorable, Mr. John Cotton . . . Mr. John Norton, etc. Boston, 1695. Reprinted in Magnalia, iii, 8. [The Cotton portion based on Whiting.]

Mead, Edwin D. John Cotton's Farewell Sermon to Winthrop's Company at Southampton. 3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. i, 101–115.

Norton, John. The Life and Death of the deservedly Famous Mr. John Cotton, the late Reverend Teacher of the Church of Christ at Boston in New England. Collected out of the Writings and Information of . . . John Davenport . . . Samuel Whiting, etc. Cambridge, 1657. Reprinted, London, 1658, with the title: Abel being dead yet speaketh; or, the life and death of . . . John Cotton, etc. Re-issued as Memoirs of John Cotton, with preface and notes by E. Pond. 1842.

Norton, John. A Funeral elegy upon the Death of the truly Reverend Mr. John Cotton, etc. 4 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. IV, 331.

Parkman, Francis. Review of Pond's Memoirs. North Amer. Review. Vol. 38.

Thornton, J. W. The Cotton Family. A genealogical table. N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. I, 164.

Waterston, R. C. George Herbert and John Cotton. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. IX.

Walker, Williston. Ten New England Leaders. 1901.

Whiting, Rev. Samuel. Materials in Young's Chronicles of Mass. 419–430. [One of the chief sources of C. Mather's and J. Norton's accounts. Whiting was Cotton's parishioner in Boston, Eng., and later settled at Lynn, Mass.]

Young, A. John Cotton's Life and Letters. Chronicles of the First Planters, etc. Boston, 1846.

II. NATHANIEL WARD (1578 [?]–1652)

A. *Separate Works*

(1) The Liberties of the Massachusets Colonie in New England. [Cambridge, 1641?] The celebrated Body of Liberties. Probably not originally published. A facsimile reproduction of the Hutchinson MS, with printed version, ed. by W. H. Whitmore, was published by the City of Boston, 1889. Frequently reprinted. (2) The Simple Cobler of Aggawamm in America. Willing to help 'mend his Native Country, lamentably tattered, both in the upper-Leather and sole, with all the honest stitches he can take. Etc. London, 1647. 4th ed. the same year. First reprinted in America, Boston, 1713. Several later editions, the latest by the Ipswich Hist. Soc. Salem, 1906. From 4th ed. (3) A Religious Retreat sounded to a Religious Army. [London?], 1647. (4) A Word to Mr. Peters, and Two Words to the Parliament and Kingdom, [London], 1647 [?] (5) Mercurius Antimechanicus, or the Simple Cobbler's Boy, with his Lap full of Caveats. London, 1648. [Ascribed to Ward, but probably wrongfully.] (6) The Pulpit Incendiary [?] (7) Five letters to John Winthrop. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th ser. VII, 23. (8) Letter to the Rev. Mr. Sancroft. New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg. Jan., 1883.

B. *Biography and Criticism*

Dean, John Ward. A Memoir of Nathaniel Ward. Albany, 1868.

Gray, F. C. Remarks on the Early Laws of Mass. Bay; with the Code adopted in 1641, etc. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3d ser. VIII, 191. The Body of Liberties reprinted, pp. 216–237.

Phillips, Stephen H. Sketch of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich. Essex Institute Hist. Col. Vol. VI. Salem, 1864.

III. JOHN ELIOT (1604–1690)

A. *Separate Works*

Much uncertainty exists in regard to the authorship of some of the Indian tracts commonly attributed to Eliot. As the best known of the Indian missionaries, he was doubtless asked to contribute to various propagandist tracts, and to some he contributed letters, even though the body of the text was the work of other hands. The subject is considered in Francis's Life of Eliot, 345–350.

(1) The Bay Psalm Book. [Cambridge], 1640. [See Richard Mather.] (2) The Day Breaking, if not The Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New-

England, etc. [London], 1647. Reprinted in 3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. IV; by Sabin, 1865; and in Old South Leaflets, no. 143, vol. VI. [An anonymous tract commonly attributed to Eliot, but according to Francis, "this is unquestionably a mistake." Assigned by him to John Wilson.] (3) The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England, etc. Published by Edward Winslow. London, 1649. [The body of the work consists of four letters, one by T. Mayhew and three by Eliot.] (4) Letter to Hugh Peters, 12 Oct., 1649. In no. 17 of A Perfect Diurnall of Proceedings of the Armies in England, Ireland, and Scotland. [London], 1649. (5) A Primer or Catechism, in the Massachusetts Indian Language. Cambridge, 1653 [?], or 1654[?], 1662, 1687. (6) Tears of Repentance; or, A further Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England; . . . Related by Mr. Eliot and Mr Mayhew, etc. London, 1653. Reprinted in 3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. IV. [A "large tract published by the Corporation." It contains Eliot's Brief Relation of the Proceedings of the Lord's Work among the Indians in reference unto their Church-Estate. (7) The Book of Genesis. Translated into the Mass. Indian Language. Cambridge, 1655. (8) A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England . . . Being a Narrative of the Examinations of the Indians about their Knowledge in Religion, by the Elders of the Churches. Related by Mr. John Eliot. London, 1655. ["Published by the Corporation." Consists of two parts: A Brief Narrative of the Indians' Proceedings in respect of Church-Estate, etc; and The Examination of the Indians at Roxbury, the 13th Day of the 4th Month, 1654.] (9) A Few Psalmes in Meeter. Translated into the Massachusetts Indian language. Cambridge, 1658. (10) The Christian Commonwealth, or, the Civil Policy of the Rising Kingdom of Jesus Christ, written before the interruption of the government, etc. London, [1659]. Reprinted in 3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. IX. (11) A Further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England. By J. Eliot. London, 1659. (12) Christiane Oonoowae Sampoowaonk: A Christian Covenanting Canfession [*sic*]. Cambridge, 1660, [1661], 1670. (13) A Further Account of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England; being a Relation of the Confessions made by several Indians, in order to their Admission into Church Fellowship. Sent over to the Corporation. . . . By Mr. John Eliot, etc. London, 1660. [Not the same as no. 11.] (14) The New Testament . . . Translated into the Indian Language, etc. Cambridge, 1661, 1680–1. (15) The Holy Bible: containing the Old Testament and the New. Translated into the Indian Language, etc. Cambridge, 1663. Re-issued in revised form, 1685. [For a detailed account of this important work, see Evans' American Bibliography.] (16) The Psalter or Book of Psalms—Up-Bookum Psalmes. Cambridge, 1663. [From the same forms as no. 15. Possibly another and different edition was issued, either in 1663, or 1664.] (17) Wehkomaonganoo asquam peantogig etc. Cambridge, 1664, 1689. [A translation of Baxter's Call to the Unconverted.] (18) Communion of Churches: or, The Divine Managment of Gospel Churches, by the ordinance of Councils, Constituted . . . according to the Scriptures. As also The Way of bringing all Christian Parishes to be Particular Reforming Congregational Churches: Humbly proposed as a way which . . . may, by the blessing of the Lord, be a means of uniting those two holy and eminent Parties, the Presbyterians and the Congregationals, etc. Cambridge, 1655. [The first book privately printed in America.] (19) Manitowompae pomantomoonk, etc. Cambridge, 1665, [1685?], 1686, 1687. [A translation of Bayly's Practice of Piety.] (20) The Indian Grammar begun, etc. Cambridge, 1666. Re-issued with notes, introd., and observations, by P. S. Du Ponceau and J. Pickering. Boston, 1822.

In Old South Leaflets, no. 52, vol. III. (21) The Indian Primer; or the way of training up our Indian youth in the good knowledge of God, etc. Cambridge, 1669, 1687 [?]. Reproduced exactly, Edinburgh, 1877. With Confession of 1660 added, 1880. (22) A Briefe Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians in New England in the Year 1670. Given in by the Rev. Mr. John Eliot . . . in a Letter etc. [London] 1671. Reprinted by W. T. R. Marvin, Boston, 1868. In Old South Leaflets under title Eliot's Brief Narrative, no. 21, vol. I. (23) Indian dialogues, for their instruction in that great service of Christ, etc. Cambridge, 1671. (24) The Logick Primer. Some logical notions to initiate the Indians in the knowledge of the rule of reason; etc. [Cambridge], 1672. (25) An Account of Indian Churches in New-England, in a letter. 1673. 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. x. (26) The Harmony of the Gospels, in the holy history of the humiliation and sufferings of Jesus Christ, etc. Boston, 1678. (27) A Brief Answer to a Small Book written by John Norcot Against Infant-Baptisme. Etc. Boston, 1679. [Given by Dexter as 1699.] (28) The Dying Speeches of several Indians. [Cambridge. Between 1680 and 1686. Given by Dexter as 1680; by Evans, as 1683?] (29) Sampwutteahae quinnuppekompauaenin. Etc. Cambridge, 1689. [A translation of T. Shepard's Sincere Convert.] (30) Indiane Primer Asuh negonneyeuuk. Boston, 1720. The Primer of 1669, edited and adapted by E. Mayhew, with the addition of Rawson's translation of Cotton's Milk for Babes. (31) Letters. Description of New England, 1650. 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. II, 1644, Rhode Island Hist. Soc. New Series, VI, 1651–52, N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. XXXVI; 1664, N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. IX, 1670–1688, To Hon. Robert Boyle, 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. III.

B. *The Indian Tracts*

Considerable material relating to Eliot and work among the Indians is embodied in various tracts put forth to further the missionary cause among the native tribes. Some of the more important are listed below. For a discussion, see Francis's Life.

(1) Good Newes from New England; or, A True Relation of Things very remarkable at the Plantation of Plimouth in New England . . . Written by E. W. [Edward Winslow] etc. London, 1624. Reprinted in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. First series, VIII, and Sec. series, IX. (2) New England's First Fruits, in Respect, 1. of the Conversion of some, Conviction of divers. Preparation of sundry of the Indians. 2. Of the Progresse of Learning in the College at Cambridge, etc. London, 1643. The second part reprinted, 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. I. (3) The Cleare Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New England; or, An Historicall Narration of God's wonderfull Workings, etc. By Mr. Thomas Shepard, etc. London, 1648. [Contains a letter by Eliot recounting his work among the Indians.] (4) The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day; or, A further Discovery of the present State of the Indians in New England, etc. London, 1651. [Contains five letters from Eliot.] (5) Strength out of Weakness; or, a Glorious Manifestation of the further Progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England, etc. London, 1652. [The "first tract published by 'The Corporation for promoting the Gospel among the Heathen in New England.'" Contains two letters from Eliot.] (6) An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England in 1675–7. Amer. Antiquarian Soc. II. 1836. [Contains a letter from Eliot.] (7) John Eliot and the Indians 1652–1657. Being Letters addressed to Rev. Jonathan Hanmer

of Barnstaple, England. Reproduced from the Original Manuscripts in the possession of Theodore N. Vail. Ed. Eames, W. 1915.

C. *Biography and Criticism*

Byington, Ezra H. John Eliot, the Puritan Missionary to the Indians. Amer. Soc. Church Hist. Vol. VIII. 1897.

Francis, Convers. The Life of John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians. In Sparks' American Biog. V. 1860. [The best life; contains bibliographical material.]

Historical Account of John Eliot . . . Collected from manuscripts, and books published the last century. By one of the Members of the Historical Society. 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. VIII, 5. 1802.

Mather, Cotton. The Triumphs of the Reformed Religion, in America. The Life of the Renowned John Eliot, etc. Boston, 1691. Reprinted in the Magnalia.

de Normandie, James. John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians. New Eng. Mag. Vol. XV.

Porter, J. F. John Eliot—the Apostle to the Indians. Littleton [Mass.] Hist. Soc. Proc. No. 1.

Sprague, Wm. B. Annals of the American Pulpit. Vol. I. 1857.

Tedder, H. R. Life, in Dict. of Nat. Biog. [With bibliography.]

Walker, Williston. Ten New England Leaders. 1901.

Winters, W. The Pilgrim Fathers of Nazing. A genealogical sketch of the Eliot family, of Roxwell, County-Essex. N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. 28.

IV. ROGER WILLIAMS (1608–1683)

A. *Collected Works*

The Works of Roger Williams. Ed. by members of the Narragansett Club. 6 vols. Providence, 1866–1874. The only collected edition. Contains likewise J. Cotton's contributions to the controversy with Williams; together with a bibliography of Williams's works.

B. *Separate Works*

(1) A Key into the Language of America: or, an Help to the Language of the Natives in that part of America called New England. Together with briefe Observations of the Customes, Manners and Worships, &c. of the aforesaid Natives, etc. London, 1643. Reprinted in Col. Rhode Island Hist. Soc. Vol I; and in greater part, in Col. Mass. Hist. Soc. First Series, vols. III and V. Reprinted from a Manuscript copy by Z. Allen, 1827. (2) Mr. Cottons Letter Lately Printed, examined and answered. London, 1644. (3) The Bloudy Tenent, of Persecution, for cause of Conscience, discussed, in a Conference betweene Truth and Peace, who, in all tender Affection, present to the High Court of Parliament, (as the Result of their Discourse,) these, (amongst other Passages) of highest Consideration. [London], 1644. Reprinted by the Hanserd Knollys Soc. 1848. (4) A Paraenetick, or Humble Addresse to the Parliament and assembly for (not loose but) Christian Libertie. Sec. impression, 1644. [Attributed in J. Carter Brown Cat. to R. W.] (5) Queries of highest consideration proposed to Mr. Tho. Goodwin, Mr. Phillip Nye, Mr. Wil. Bridges, Mr. Jer. Burroughs, Mr. Sidr. Simpson, all Independents; and to the Commissioners from the General Assembly (so called) of the Church of Scotland upon occasion of their late printed Apologies for themselves and their Churches. In all Humble Reverence presented to the view of

. . . the High Court of Parliament. London, 1644. (6) The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody: by Mr. Cottons endeavor to wash it white in the Blood of the Lambe; of whose precious Blood spilt in the Blood of his Servants; and of the Blood of Millions spilt in former and later Wars for Conscience sake, that most Bloody Tenent of Persecution for cause of Conscience, upon a second Tryal, is found now more apparently and more notoriously guilty. . . . Also . . . is added a Letter to Mr. Endicot Governor of the Massachusetts in N. E. London, 1652. Reprinted in Narr. Club. Pub. IV. Ed. by S. L. Caldwell, 1870. (7) The Fourth Paper, Presented by Major Butler to . . . Parliament, for the Propagating the Gospel of Christ Jesus. . . . Together with a Testimony . . . by way of Explanation upon the Four Proposals of it, by R. W., etc. [London], 1652. (8) The Hireling Ministry None of Christs, or a Discourse touching the Propagating the Gospel of Christ Jesus. Humbly Presented to such Pious and Honourable Hands, whom the present Debate thereof concerns. London, 1652. (9) Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health, and their Preservatives in which the Weakest child of God may get Assurance of his Spirituall Life and Blessednesse, and the Strongest may finde proportionable Discoveries of his Christian Growth, and the means of it. London, 1652. (10) George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes, Or an Offer of Disputation on fourteen Proposalls made this last Summer 1672 (so call'd) unto G. Fox then present on Rhode-Island in New-England, by R. W. As also how (G. Fox slily departing) the Disputation went on being managed three dayes . . . between John Stubs, John Burnet, and William Edmundson on the one part, and R. W. on the other. In which many Quotations out of G. Fox and Ed. Burrowes Book in Folio are alleadged. With an Appendix of some scores of G. F. his simple lame Answers . . . quoted and replyed to. Boston, 1676. Reprinted in Narr. Club. Pub. V. Ed. by J. L. Diman. 1872. (11) Letters. From the year 1632 to 1675. In part reprinted in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. Fourth Series, vol. VI. For the first time collected in vol. VI, of the Narr. Club ed. of his works. Ed. by J. R. Bartlett, 1874. Eight letters to Winthrop, reprinted in Old South Leaflets. No. 54, vol. 3. (12) Ten letters. In Rhode Island Hist. Soc. Pub. New Series, 8. (13) Manuscript of Esau and Jacob's Mystical Harmony. Mass. Hist. Soc. Lib.

C. *Biography and Criticism*

Carpenter, Edmund J. Roger Williams; a Study of the Life, Times and Character of a Political Pioneer. 1909. [Grafton Hist. Series.]

Dean, John Ward. Early Statements relative to the Early Life of Roger Williams. N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. 50.

Deane, Chas. Roger Williams and the Massachusetts Charter. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. Feb., 1873.

Dexter, Henry M. As to Roger Williams and his "Banishment" from the Massachusetts Plantation. Boston, 1876.

Eddy, D. C. Roger Williams and the Baptists. Boston, 1861.

Elton, Romeo. Life of Roger Williams. London and Providence, 1853.

Guild, R. A. An Account of the Writings of Roger Williams. Providence, 1862.

—— Footprints of Roger Williams. Providence, 1886.

—— Roger Williams, Freeman of Massachusetts. Amer. Antiquar. Soc. New Series, 5. Worcester, 1888.

Hubbard, Rev. William. A General History of New England. Chap. 30. 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 5, 202–213.

Johnson, L. D. Spirit of Roger Williams. 1839.

Knowles, James Davis. Memoirs of Roger Williams. Boston, 1834.

Lowell, J. R. New England Two Centuries Ago. In Among my Books.

Masson, David. Life of Milton. 6 vols. London, 1859–1880. Vols. II–III. For a history of the idea of toleration before R. W. see vol. III, 98 *seq.*

Mather, Cotton. Magnalia Christi Americana. VII, 2.

Merriman, Titus M. Pilgrims, Puritans, and Roger Williams Vindicated, etc. Boston, 1892.

Straus, Oscar S. Roger Williams, the Pioneer of Religious Liberty. 1894.

Tuckerman, H. T. Roger Williams, The Tolerant Colonist. In Essays, Biographical and Critical. Boston, 1857.

Waters, Henry F. Genealogical Gleanings in England. N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. 43, 291. [Establishes the place of Williams's birth.]

V. THOMAS HOOKER (1586–1647)

A careful bibliography of Hooker's writings, prepared by J. Hammond Trumbull, is appended to Walker's Life of Hooker, from which the following list is mainly drawn.

A. *Separate Works*

(1) The Poor Doubting Christian drawne unto Christ. London, [1629]. The twenty-third in a collection of twenty-nine sermons, published under the title, The Saints Cordials. As they were delivered in sundry sermons, etc. [See Mead's discussion of Hooker's farewell sermon, listed below.] 6th ed., with supplementary title, 1641, 1652, 1659, 1667. 12th ed. 1700. 1st Amer. ed., Boston, 1743. Re-issued, with life and introd. by Rev. Ed. W. Hooker. Hartford, 1845. (2) The Soules Preparation for Christ. Or, A Treatise of Contrition. Etc. London, 1632, 1635, 1638 [twice], 1643, 1658. (3) The Equall Wayes of God: Tending to the Rectifying of the Crooked Wayes of man. Etc. London, 1632. (4) Advertisement and preface to W. Ames' A Fresh suit against Human Ceremonies in Gods Worship. [London?], 1633. (5) Letter to John Winthrop, concerning the Synods. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. Sec. Series, VI–425. 1637. (6) The Soules Effectuall Calling to Christ. [London], 1637. [Paged continuously with no. 9, but published separately.] (7) The Soules Humiliation. London, 1637, 1638. Amsterdam, 1638. London, 1640. (8) The Soules Implantation. A Treatise containing, The Broken Heart, on Esay 57. 15. The Preparation of the Heart, on Luke 1. 17. The Soules Ingraffing into Christ, on Mal. 3.1. Spirituall Love and Joy, on Gal. 5.22. [London], 1637. An improved ed. under title, The Soules Implanation into the Naturall Olive. Etc. 1640. (9) The Soules Ingrafting into Christ. [London], 1637. [A portion of no. 8.] (10) An Exposition of the Lords Prayer. By T. H. 1638. [Probably by Hooker.] (11) Four Godly and learned Treatises: viz. The Carnall Hypocrite. The Churches Deliverances. The Deceitfulness of Sinne. The Benefit of Afflictions. [London], 1638. (12) Letter to John Winthrop on the hostile attitude of Mass. toward Conn. Conn. Hist. Soc. I, 1; with notes by J. H. Trumbull. [See Winthrop's reply, Life and Letters, II–421.] (13) Letter to John Winthrop on the people's share in "counsel and judicature." Conn. Hist. Soc. I, 11. [See Winthrop, Life and Letters, II, 428.] (14) Sermon before the General Court, May 31, 1638. [On the theory of democracy.] Conn. Hist. Soc. I, 20, with notes by J. H. Trumbull. (15) The Soules Exaltation. A Treatise containing the Soules Union with Christ. The Soules Benefit from Union with Christ . . . The Soules Justification, etc. [London], 1638. (16) The Soules Possession of Christ: upon Romans 13. 4. etc. [London], 1638. [Probably

by Hooker.] (17) The Soules Vocation or Effectual Calling to Christ. [London], 1638. [See no. 6.] (18) Thanksgiving Sermon, 4 Oct., 1638. Transcribed from notes and published [in part] in the Hartford Evening Press, 28 Nov., 1860, by J. H. Trumbull. (19) The Unbeleevers Preparing for Christ. [London], 1638. Six sermons. (20) The Garments of Salvation first putt off by the Fall of our first Parents. Secondly, putt on again by the Grace of the Gospel. [London], 1639 [?]. [Probably by Hooker.] (21) The Christians Two Chiefe Lessons, Viz. Selfe-Deniall, and Selfe-Tryall. Etc. In three treatises, etc. [London], 1640. (22) The Patterne of Perfection exhibited in Gods Image on Adam and Gods Covenant with him, . . . Whereunto is added, An Exhortacion to redeeme tyme . . . Also certaine Queries touching a true and sound Christian, etc. [London, the 2nd ed.?] 1640. (23) Letter to John Winthrop on the "Confederation." 1643. Life and Letters of John Winthrop, II, 310. [See Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. May, 1891.] (24) The Danger of Desertion: or a Farwell Sermon of Mr. Thomas Hooker, Sometimes Minister . . . at Chainesford in Essex; but now of New England. Preached immediately before his departure out of old England. Together with Ten Particular rules to be practised every day by converted Christians [by E. Reyner.] [London], 1644. 2nd ed. the same year. [See Mead's discussion of Hooker's farewell sermon, listed below.] (25) The Faithful Covenanter. A Sermon preached at the Lecture in Dedham in Essex. . . . Very usefull in these times of Covenanting with God. [London], 1644. (26) An Exposition of the Principles of Religion. [London], 1645. [Doubtful.] (27) The Saints Guide, in three Treatises, etc. London, 1645. (28) Heautonaparnumenos: Or a Treatise of Self-Denyall. Etc. London, 1646. [Doubtful.] (29) The Immortality of the Soule. The Excellencie of Christ Jesus, treated on. Etc. [London], 1646. [Probably by Hooker.]

B. *Posthumous Works*

(30) A Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline. Wherein, The Way of the Churches of New-England is warranted out of the Word, etc. [London] 1648. [In some copies, J. Cotton's Way of the Congregational Churches cleared, is appended, and a general title made use of.] The Preface reprinted in Old South Leaflets, no. 55, vol. III. Boston, 1894. Replied to by Dan. Cawdrey, The Inconsistencie of the Independent Way, etc. London, 1651; and by Samuel Hudson, Vindication of the Essence, Unity (and Priority) of the Church-Catholick visible, in answer to John Ellis and Mr. Hooker. London, second ed., 1658. (31) The Covenant of Grace opened: wherein These particulars are handled; viz. 1. What the Covenant of Grace is, 2. What the Seales of the Covenant are, 3. Who are the Parties and Subjects fit to receive these Seales. From all which Particulars Infants Baptisme is fully proved and vindicated. Etc. [London], 1649. (32) The Saints Dignitie and Dutie. Together with The Danger of Ignorance and Hardness. Delivered in severall Sermons, etc. [London], 1651. [Seven sermons prepared for the press by Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, Mass., Hooker's son-in-law.] (33) A Comment upon Christ's Last Prayer In the Seventeenth of John. Wherein is opened, The Union Beleevers have with God and Christ, and the Glorious Priviledges thereof. [London], 1656. (34) The Application of Redemption. By the Effectual Work of the Word . . . for the bringing home of lost Sinners to God. [London], 1657. 2d ed. 1659. [The first Eight Books of a proposed collection of seventeen sermons.] (35) The Application of Redemption, etc. The Ninth and Tenth Books . . . [With] an Epistle, By Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye. [London], 1657, 1659. [A continuation of no. 34.]

C. *Biography and Criticism*

Hooker, Edward. The Origin and Ancestry of Rev. Thomas Hooker. New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg. Vol. XLVII. 1893.

Hooker, Rev. E. W. Life of Thomas Hooker. In Lives of the Chief Fathers of New England, VI. Boston, 1849, 1870.

Hubbard, Rev. William. The History of New England. 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. VI, Chap. 41.

Mather, Cotton. Piscator Evangelicus. Or, the Life of Mr. Thomas Hooker . . . Pastor of Hartford-Church, and Pillar of Connecticut-Colony, in New-England, etc. [Boston], 1695. Reprinted in the Magnalia.

Mead, Edwin D. Thomas Hooker's Farewell Sermon in England. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. Vol. 46, 253–274.

Sprague, Wm. B. Annals of the American Pulpit. Vol. I. 1857.

Stone, S. Letter to Thomas Shepard announcing the death of Hooker. 4 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. VIII, 544.

Trumbull, J. Hammond. Text and discussion of Hooker's Sermon before the General Court on May 31, 1638. Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll. I, 19.

Walker, G. L. Thomas Hooker, Preacher, Founder, Democrat. [Makers of America.] 1891. The best life.

—— Verses: by Cotton, John, and by Stone, Sam, on Hooker's death. Reprinted in Old South Leaflets, No. 53, vol. 3.

VI. RICHARD MATHER (1596–1669)

A. *Separate Works*

(1) The Whole Booke of Psalms, Faithfully Translated into English Meter. Whereunto is prefixed a discourse declaring not only the lawfulness, but also the necessity of the heavenly Ordinance of singing Scripture Psalmes in the Churches of God. Cambridge, 1640. [The Bay Psalm Book, prepared in conjunction with J. Eliot and T. Weld. The first book published in America. Numerous later editions.] (2) An Answer of the . . . Churches in New England, unto nine Propositions, etc. London, 1643. (3) Church-Government and Church-Covenant discussed in an Answer to two-and-thirty Questions etc. London, 1643. [Nos. 2 and 3 also bound together and issued under the title, Church-Government and Church Covenant discussed, in an answer of the Elders of the severall Churches in New-England to two and thirty questions sent over to them. . . . Together with an Apologie of the said Elders . . . As also an answer to nine positions about Church Government. London, 1643. (4) Election Sermon. [Cambridge, 1644?] [Listed in Evans, Amer. Bib. Doubtful.] (5) A Modest . . . Answer to Mr Charles Herle . . . against the Independancy of Churches, etc. London, 1644. (6) A Reply to Mr Rutherford, or a . . . Defence of the Answer to Herles Booke against the Independency of Churches, etc. London, 1647. (7) A Platform of Church discipline gathered out of the word of God: and agreed upon by the Elders: and Messengers of the Churches assembled at the Synod at Cambridge in New-England. Etc. Cambridge, 1648. London, 1653. [Probably largely by J. Cotton, though the manuscript is in the handwriting of R. M.] (8) A Catechism. . . . [Cambridge, 1650?]. (9) An Heart-melting Exhortation . . . to their dear countrey-men of Lancashire, etc. [London?], 1650. [In conjunction with J. Tompson.] (10) The Summe of Certain Sermons upon Genes: 15.6. Wherein not only the doctrine of Justification by Faith is Asserted and Cleared . . . but also the Nature and Meanes of Faith, etc. Cambridge, 1652. (11)

A Farewell Exhortation to the Church and People of Dorchester in New-England, but not unusefull to any others . . . as containing Christian and Serious Indictments . . . to be seriously Considered of all in these Declining Times. Cambridge, 1657. (12) Election Sermon. [Cambridge, 1660.] (13) A Plea for the Churches of New England, etc. [London], 1660. (14) A Defence of the Answer and Arguments of the Synod met at Boston, in the yeare 1662 . . . against Rev. J. Davenport; with an Answer, etc. Cambridge, 1664. [In conjunction with J. Mitchel.] (15) A Brief Relation . . . of the Lord's Work among the Indians, etc. [n.d. and n. p.] (16) Sermons on 2 Peter. [?] (17) Journal. Now for the first time printed from the Original manuscript. In Young's Chronicles of the First Planters. 1846. (18) Journal of R. Mather, 1635. His life and death, 1670. Col. Dorchester Antiq. Soc. No. 3. 1850. (19) An Answer to two Questions: (1) Whether does the Power of Church Government belong to all the People, or to the Elders alone? (2) Whether does any Church Power, or any Power of the Keys belong to the People, etc. 1712. [In conjunction with I. Mather.] (20) In manuscript: Three Theological Essays; Essay proving that Infants ought to be baptized; Observations and Arguments respecting our Government of Christian Churches; Answers to 21 Questions from the Gen. Court at Hartford to that at Boston; Sum of 70 Sermons. In the American Antiquarian Society Lib. Worcester, Mass.

B. *Biography and Criticism*

Mather, Increase. The Life and death of that reverend man of God, Mr Richard Mather, Teacher of the Church in Dorchester in New-England. Cambridge, 1670. Another edition, with title, Life and Death of Mr. Richard Mather, 1850.

Walker, Williston. Ten New England Leaders. 1901.

VII. INCREASE MATHER (1639–1723)

The difficulties in the way of preparing a definitive list of the writings of Increase and Cotton Mather are practically insuperable. After an immense amount of work by the most painstaking antiquarians, the bibliography—and in particular that of Cotton Mather—remains somewhat muddled. The list as here printed of the works of Increase Mather, has been compressed from the elaborate bibliography published in J. L. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, supplemented by checking other lists.

A. *Separate Works*

(1) The Mystery of Israel's Salvation, Explained and Applyed: Or, A Discourse Concerning the General Conversion of the Israelitish Nation. Etc. London, 1669. (2) The Life and Death of that Reverend Man of God, Mr. Richard Mather, Teacher of the Church in New-England. Cambridge, 1670. (3) To the Church and Inhabitants of Northampton in N. E. Cambridge, 1671. [Prefixed to his brother Eleazar's Serious Exhortation to the Present and Succeeding Generations in New-England.] (4) Wo to Drunkards. Two Sermons Testifying against the Sin of Drunkenness: etc. Cambridge, 1673. Boston, 1712. (5) The Day of Trouble is near. Two Sermons Wherein is shewed . . . What reason there is for New-England to expect a Day of Trouble. Etc. Cambridge, 1674. (6) Some Important Truths About Conversion, Delivered in Sundry Sermons. London, 1674. Second ed., London, 1674. Boston, 1721. (7) To the Reader. Prefixed to S. Torrey's Exhortation unto Reformation. Boston, 1674.

(8) A Discourse Concerning the Subject of Baptisme Wherein the present Controversies, that are agitated in the New English Churches are from Scripture and Reason modestly enquired into. Cambridge, 1675. (9) The First Principles of New-England, Concerning the Subject of Baptisme & Communion of Churches. Collected partly out of the Printed Books, but chiefly out of the Original Manuscripts of the First and chiefe Fathers in the New-English Churches; etc. Cambridge, 1675. (10) The Times of men are in the hand of God. Or A Sermon Occasioned by that awfull Providence which hapned in Boston in New England, the 4th day of the 3d Moneth 1675 (when part of a Vessel was blown up in the Harbour, and nine men hurt, etc.). Boston, 1675. (11) The Wicked mans Portion. Or a Sermon (Preached . . . when two men were executed, who had murthered their Master). Wherein is shewed That excesse in wickedness doth bring untimely Death. Boston, 1675, 1685. [The first book printed in Boston.] (12) A Brief History of the War With the Indians in New-England, (From June 14, 1675. when the first English-man was murdered by the Indians, to August 12. 1676. when Philip . . . was slain). Wherein the Grounds, Beginning, and Progress of the Warr, is summarily expressed. Etc. Boston, 1676. London, 1676. Re-issued under the title, The History of King Philip's War, together with A History of the same War, by C. Mather; with notes and introd. by Samuel G. Drake. Boston and Albany, 1862. (13) An Earnest Exhortation To the Inhabitants of New-England, To hearken to the voice of God in his late and present Dispensations, etc. Boston, 1676. [A reprint of part of no. 12.] (14) A Relation of the Troubles which have hapned in New-England, By reason of the Indians there. From the Year 1614 to the Year 1675. Wherein the frequent Conspiracyes of the Indians to cutt off the English, and the wonderfull providence of God, in disappointing their devices, is declared. Together with an Historical Discourse concerning the Prevalency of Prayer; etc. Boston, 1677. [The Historical Discourse is paged separately, with the following title:—] (15) An Historical Discourse Concerning the Prevalency of Prayer Wherein is shewed that New-Englands late Deliverance from the Rage of the Heathen, is an eminent Answer of Prayer. Boston, 1677. (16) Renewal of Covenant the great Duty incumbent on decaying or distressed Churches. Etc. Boston, 1677. (17) Pray for the Rising Generation, Or A Sermon Wherein Godly Parents are Encouraged to Pray and Believe for their Children, etc. Cambridge, 1678. Boston, 1679, 1685. [The third impression appended to no. 19.] (18) To the Reader. Prefixed to the second impression of E. Mather's Serious Exhortation. Boston, 1678. [See no. 3 above.] (19) A Call from Heaven To the Present and Succeeding Generations, Or a Discourse Wherin is shewed . . . The exceeding danger of Apostasie especially as to those that are the Children and Posterity of such as have been eminent for God in their Generation. Etc. Boston, 1679, 1685. (20) A Discourse Concerning the Danger of Apostasy, etc. Boston, 1679. [The second portion of no. 19, printed separately.] (21) Preface and Result of—The Necessity of Reformation With the Expedients subservient thereunto, asserted; . . . Agreed upon by the Elders and Messengers Of the Churches assembled in the Synod at Boston . . . Sept. 10. 1679. Boston, 1679. [Probably largely the work of I. M.] (22) The Divine Right of Infant-Baptisme Asserted and Proved from Scripture and Antiquity. Boston, 1680. (23) Returning unto God, the great concernment of a Covenant People. Etc. Boston, 1680. (24) Preface to a Confession of Faith Owned and Consented unto by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches Assembled at Boston . . . May 12. 1680. [The second sermon of the Synod.] (25) Brief Animadversions on the Narrative of the New England Anabaptists. Boston, 1681. (26) Heavens Alarm to the World. Or A Sermon

Wherein is shewed, That fearful Sights and Signs in Heaven are the Presages of great Calamities at hand. Boston, 1681, 1683. [The second impression included in no. 33.] (27) To the Reader, Nov. 4. 1681. Prefixed to S. Willard's Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam. (28) Diatriba de signo Filii Hominis, et de Secundo Messiae Adventu; etc. Amstelodami, 1682. (29) The Latter Sign Discoursed of . . . Wherein is shewed, that the Voice of God in Signal Providences . . . ought to be Hearkned unto. [Boston], 1682, 1683. [The second impression included in no. 33.] (30) Practical Truths Tending to Promote the Power of Godliness . . . Delivered in Sundry Sermons. Boston, 1682. A second ed. the same year. (31) A Sermon Wherein is shewed that the Church of God is sometimes a Subject of Great Persecution . . . Occasioned by the Tidings of a great Persecution Raised against the Protestants in France. Boston, 1682. (32) To the Reader. Prefixed to Urian Oakes's Seasonable Discourse. 1682. (33) ΚΟΜΗΤΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ. Or A Discourse Concerning Comets; Wherein the Nature of Blazing Stars is Enquired into: With an Historical Account of all the Comets which have appeared from the Beginning of the World unto this present Year . . . Their Motion, Forms, Duration; and the Remarkable Events which have followed in the World, so far as they have been by Learned Men Observed. As also two Sermons Occasioned by the late Blazing Stars. Boston, 1683. [The two sermons are nos. 26 and 29.] London, 1811. (34) To the Reader. Prefixed to S. Torrey's Plea for the Life of Dying Religion. Boston, 1683. (35) An Arrow against Profane and Promiscuous Dancing. Drawn out of the Quiver of the Scriptures. By the Ministers of Christ at Boston, etc. [Written by I. M.] Boston, 1684, 1686. (36) The Doctrine of Divine Providence, opened and applyed: Also Sundry Sermons on Several other Subjects. Boston, 1684. Probably re-issued the same year. (37) An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences: Wherein an Account is given of many Remarkable and very Memorable Events, which have hapned this last Age; Especially in New-England. Boston, 1684. Re-issued the same year. Reprinted under title, Remarkable Providences Illustrative of the Earlier Days of American Colonization. With Introd. by George Offor. London, 1856. Replied to by G. Keith, The Presbyterian and Independent . . . Churches in New England . . . brought to the test . . . With an answer to the gross abuses, lies and slanders of I. Mather (in his book, called, "An Essay" etc.) London, 1691. (38) The Greatest Sinners Exhorted and Encouraged To Come to Christ . . . Together with a Discourse about the Day of Judgement. Etc. Boston, 1686. Translated into Indian by S. Danforth, 1698. (39) The Mystery of Christ opened and applyed. In Several Sermons, etc. Boston, 1686. [London?], 1686. (40) A Sermon Occasioned by the Execution of a man found Guilty of Murder . . . Together with the Confession, Last Expressions, & solemn Warning of that Murderer . . . to beware of those Sins which brought him to his miserable end. Boston, 1686, 1687. [Appended are C. Mather's Call of the Gospel, and J. Moody's Exhortation to a Condemned Malefactor, with the minister's discourse with the criminal on the way to the execution.] The same, without the sermons, appended to the Wonders of Free-Grace. Or, A Compleat History of . . . Remarkable Penitents That have been Executed at Tyburn, etc. London, 1690[?]. [Given in Sibley, and Evans, Amer. Bib. as 1691. In Brit. Mus. Cat. as 1690.] (41) A Testimony Against several Prophane and superstitious Customs, Now Practised by some in New-England, etc. London, 1687. Boston, 1688. (42) A Narrative of the Miseries of New-England, By Reason of an Arbitrary Government Erected there Under Sir Edmund Andros. London, 1688. Boston, 1688. London, 1689. A part of A Sixth Collection of Papers Relating to the Present Juncture of Affairs in England. Boston, 1775. Also in Andros

Tracts, II, I, with note on authorship. Boston, 1869. (43) De Successu Evangelij Apud Indos in Nova-Anglia, Epistola Ad Cl. Virum D. Johannem Lusdenum. . . . Scripta. London, 1688. Re-issued with minor changes, 1699. Translated into English, in C. Mather's Magnalia, iii, 194; the greater portion in Andros Tracts, ii, 166. Boston, 1869. Re-issued in German with title, Ein Brieff von dem Gluecklichen Fortgang des Evangelii Bey den West-Indianern in Neu-Engeland an den Beruehmten Herrn Johann Leusden, etc. Halle, 1696. (44) New-England Vindicated From the Unjust Aspersions cast on the former Government there, by some late Considerations Pretending to shew that the Charters in those Colonies were Taken from them on Account of their Destroying the Manufactures and Navigation of England. London, 1688. In the Andros Tracts, II. 3. (45) A Vindication of New-England, from the Vile Aspersions Cast upon that Country By a Late Address of a Faction there, Who Denominate themselves of the Church of England in Boston. [Boston, 1688.] In the Andros Tracts, II. 19. (46) A Brief Discourse Concerning the unlawfulness of the Common Prayer Worship, and Of Laying the Hand on, and Kissing the Booke in Swearing. [Boston, 1689?] London, 1689. (47) A Brief Relation of the State of New-England, From the Beginning of that Plantation To the Present Year, 1689. In a Letter to a Person of Quality. London, 1689. Also in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., XXI. 93; in Force's Tracts, IV, No. II; and in the Andros Tracts, II. 149. (48) The Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston, and the countrey adjacent. Boston, 1689. [Attributed to I. M. by Hutchinson.] Reprinted in Neal's Hist. of New-England. II. 62; and in Andros Tracts, I. 2. (49) The Present State of New-English Affairs. This is Published to prevent False Reports. Boston, 1689. In the Andros Tracts, II. 15. (50) Reasons for the Confirmation of the Charters belonging to the several Corporations in New-England. 1689 [?]. In The Andros Tracts, II. 223. (51) Reasons for the Confirmation of the Charter Belonging to the Massachusetts Colony in New-England. 1689 [?]. In the Andros Tracts, II. 223. (52) "Several Papers relating to the State of New-England." [Noted for 1690 by C. Mather, in his list of works by I. M.] (53) A Brief Account concerning Several of the Agents of New-England, their Negotiation at the Court of England: With Some Remarks on the New Charter Granted to the Colony of Massachusetts. Shewing That . . . Greater Priviledges than what are therein contained, could not at this Time rationally be expected by the People there. London, 1691. In the Andros Tracts, II. 271. (54) Preface to J. Flavell's Exposition of the Assemblies Catechism, 1692. (55) Cases of Conscience Concerning evil Spirits Personating Men, Witchcrafts, infallible Proofs of Guilt in such as are accused with that Crime. All Considered according to the Scriptures, History, Experience, and the Judgment of many Learned men. Boston, 1693. London, 1693. Appended to no. 56. Re-issued with C. Mather's Wonders of the Invisible World. London, 1862. Library of Old Authors. (56) A Further Account of the Tryals of the New-England Witches. With the Observations Of a Person who was upon the Place several Days when the suspected Witches were first taken into Examination. To which is added, Cases of Conscience Concerning Witchcrafts [no. 55] . . . Written at the Request of the Ministers of New-England. London, 1693. Re-issued with C. Mather's Wonders of the Invisible World. London, 1862. (57) The Great Blessing, of Primitive Counsellors. Discoursed in a Sermon, Preached in the Audience of the Governour, etc. Boston, 1693. [Preface contains a vindication of his conduct as Massachusetts agent in England, and is reprinted in Andros Tracts, II. 301.] (58) The Judgment Of Several Eminent Divines Of The Congregational Way. Concerning A Pastors Power. Etc. Boston, 1693. (59) To the Reader. Prefixed to S.

Willard's Doctrine of the Covenant of Redemption. Boston, 1693. (60) Christian Reader. Prefixed to F. Makemie's Answer to G. Keith's Libel. Boston, 1694. [Signed by I. M. and four others.] (61) The Answer of Several Ministers in and near Boston, To that Case of Conscience, Whether it is Lawful for a Man to Marry his Wives own Sister? Boston, 1695, 1711. [Signed by I. M. and seven others.] (62) To the Reader. Prefixed to C. Mather's Johannes in Eremo. Boston, 1695. (63) Solemn Advice to Young Men Not to Walk in the Wayes of their Heart, etc. Boston, 1695. (64) Angelographia, Or A Discourse Concerning the Nature and Power of the Holy Angels, and the Great Benefit which the True Fearers of God Receive by their Ministry . . . To which is added, A Sermon concerning the Sin and Misery of the Fallen Angels: Also a Disquisition concerning Angelical-Apparitions. Boston, 1696. (65) A Disquisition concerning Angelical Apparitions, in cases of conscience, etc. Boston, 1696. [Bound with no. 64.] (66) A Case of Conscience Concerning Eating of Blood, Considered and Answered. Boston, 1697. (67) A Discourse Concerning the Uncertainty of the Times of Men, And The Necessity of being Prepared for Sudden Changes & Death. Delivered in a Sermon . . . On Occasion of the Sudden Death of Two Scholars belonging to Harvard Colledge. Boston, 1697. (68) The Epistle Dedicatory. To the Church at Cambridge in New-England, and To the Students of the Colledge there. Prefixed to C. Mather's Ecclesiastes or Life of J. Mitchel. Boston, 1697. (69) David Serving His Generation . . . Occasioned by the Death, of the Reverend Mr. John Baily, etc. Boston, 1698. (70) Masukkenukeeg Matcheseaenvog Wequetoog kah Wuttooanatoog, etc. Boston, 1698. [Five sermons of I. M. translated into Indian by S. Danforth.] (71) A Faithful Advice from several Ministers of the Gospel, relating to Dangers that may arise from Imposters, Boston, [1699]. (72) The Folly of Sinning, Opened & Applyed, In Two Sermons. Occasioned by the Condemnation of one that was Executed at Boston . . . on November 17th. 1698. Boston, 1699. (73) The Surest way to the Greatest Honour: Discoursed in a Sermon, Delivered In the Audience of . . . the Earl of Bellomont, etc. Boston, 1699. (74) To the Reader. Prefixed to S. Willard's Peril of the Times. Boston, 1699. London, 1700. (75) Two Plain and Practical Discourses Concerning I. Hardness of Heart . . . II. The Sin and Danger of Disobedience to the Gospel. London, 1699. (76) To the Reader. Prefixed to C. Mather's Everlasting Gospel. 1699 [?]. (77) The Order of the Gospel, Professed and Practised by the Churches of Christ in New-England, Justified, by the Scripture, and by the Writings of many Learned men, etc. Boston, 1700. Reprinted the same year in Boston and London. [Answered by T. Woodbridge and "sundry Ministers of the Gospel," in the Gospel Order Revived, printed in New York, 1700, because the influence of the Mathers with the printers closed the Boston press.] (78) The Blessed Hope, And the Glorious Appearing of the Great God our Saviour, . . . Opened & Applyed, in Several [six] Sermons. Boston, 1701. (79) A Collection, Of Some Of the Many Offensive Matters, Contained in a Pamphlet, Entituled, The Order of the Gospel Revived. Boston, 1701. [See no. 77 above.] (80) A Discourse Proving that the Christian Religion, Is the only True Religion: Wherein, The necessity of Divine Revelation is Evinced, in several Sermons. Boston, 1702. (81) The Excellency of a Publick Spirit Discoursed: In a Sermon, Preached in the Audience of the General Assembly, etc. Boston, 1702. (82) The Glorious Throne: Or, A Sermon Concerning The Glory of the Throne of the Lord Jesus Christ, Which is now in Heaven, and shall quickly be seen on The Earth. Boston, 1702. [Appended to no. 83.] (83) Ichabod. Or, A Discourse, Shewing what Cause there is to Fear that the Glory of the Lord is Departing from New-England. Delivered in Two Sermons. Boston, 1702. (84) The Righteous

Man A Blessing: Or, Seasonable Truths Encouraging unto Faith and Prayer In this Day of Doubtful Expectation. Delivered in Two Sermons. Boston, 1702. [Appended to no. 81.] (85) Some Remarks On a late Sermon . . . By George Keith M.A. Shewing That his pretended Good Rules in Divinity, are not built on the foundation of the Apostles & Prophets. Boston, 1702. (86) The Duty of Parents To Pray For their Children, Opened & Applyed in a Sermon, Preached May 19. 1703. Which Day was set apart . . . to Seek unto God by Prayer with Fasting for the Rising Generation. Boston, 1703. Another ed. the same year. 1719. (87) Soul-Saving Gospel Truths. Deliver'd in several Sermons: Wherein is shew'd, I. The Unreasonableness of those Excuses which Men make for their Delaying . . . II. That for Men to Despair of the Forgiveness of their Sins. . . is a great Evil. III. That every Man in the World is going into Eternity. Boston, 1703, 1712. (88) A Brief Discourse Concerning the Prayse Due to God, for his Mercy, in Giving Snow like Wool . . . etc. Boston, 1704. [A portion of no. 91.] (89) Practical Truth's Tending to Promote Holiness in the Hearts & Lives of Christians. Delivered in several Sermons. Boston, 1704. (90) To the Reader. Prefixed to J. Dummer's Discourse on the Holiness of the Sabbath Day. Boston, 1704, 1763. (91) The Voice of God, in Stormy Winds. Considered, in Two Sermons, Occasioned by the Dreadful and Unparallel'd Storm, in the European Nations. Boston, 1704. [See no. 88.] (92) A Letter, About the Present State of Christianity, among the Christianized Indians of New-England. Written, To the Honourable, Sir William Ashurst, etc. Boston, 1705. (93) To the Church and Congregation at Maldon. Prefixed to C. Mather's Faithful Man. Boston, 1705. (94) Meditations on the Glory of the Lord Jesus Christ: Delivered in several Sermons. Boston, 1705. (95) A Discourse Concerning Earthquakes. Occasioned by the Earthquakes which were in New-England . . . June 16 . . . Also, Two Sermons, shewing, That Sin is the Greatest Evil; And That to Redeem Time is the Greatest Wisdom. Boston, 1706. (96) A Discourse Concerning the Maintenance Due to those That Preach the Gospel: In Which, That Question Whether Tithes Are by the Divine Law the Ministers Due, Is Considered, And the Negative Proved. Boston, 1706. London, 1709. (97) Needful Caution against a sin that easily besets us. Sermon at Boston Lecture. June 15th. 1706. Boston, 1706. (98) A Plea for the Ministers Of the Gospel, Offered to the Consideration of the People of New-England. Being an Exposition of Galat. vi. 6. etc. Boston, 1706. (99) A Disquisition on the State of the Souls of Men when separated from their Bodies. Boston, 1707. (100) The Doctrine of Singular Obedience, As the Duty and Property of the True Christian, etc. Boston, 1707. (101) Meditations on Death . . . Wherein is shewed: I. That some True Believers . . . Are afraid of Death . . . II. That Good Men . . . may be taken out of the World by a Sudden Death. III. That not Earth but Heaven is the Christians Home. Boston, 1707. (102) To the Reader. Prefixed to S. Moodey's Vain Youth Summoned. Boston, 1707. (103) A Dissertation, wherein The Strange Doctrine Lately Published in a Sermon, The Tendency of which, is, to Encourage Unsanctified Persons . . . to Approach the Holy Table of the Lord, is Examined and Confuted. With an Appendix, Shewing What Scripture Ground there is to Hope, that within a very few years there will be a Glorious Reformation of the Church throughout the World. Boston, 1708. Edinburgh, 1710, 1713. The Appendix seems to have been published separately in 1710. [An echo of the Stoddardean controversy over the grounds of admission to the Lord's Supper. Stoddard replied in An Appeal to the Learned, which brought forth other replies.] (104) Preface to Silesia, Praise out of the mouth of Babes, etc. London, 1708. (105) To the Reader. Prefixed to C. Mather's Good Evening for the Best of

Dayes. Boston, 1708. (106) A Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation. Answering the Objections of . . . Mr. Baxter, Dr. Lightfoot, and others. With an Enquiry into the first Resurrection. London, 1709. Reprinted Boston, 1709. (107) To the Reader. Prefixed to J. Danforth's Blackness of Sins against Light. 1709. (108) To the Reader. Prefixed to C. Mather's Winthropi Justa. 1709 [?] (109) Awakening Truths Tending to Conversion . . . Wherein is Shewed, I. That the greatest Sinners may be Converted . . . II. That Sinners . . . ought to Pray for Converting Grace. III. That Sinners who neglect . . . until the Day of Grace is past will wish . . . in vain, when it is too late. In Which Sermons notice is taken of some late Remarkable Conversions. Boston, 1710. (110) A Discourse Concerning Faith and Fervency in Prayer, And the Glorious Kingdom of the Lord . . . on Earth, Now Approaching . . . in which the Signs of the present Times are Considered, with a true Account of the late wonderful and Astonishing Success of the Gospel in Ceilon, Amboina, and Malabar. Boston, 1710. Two other editions the same year. An edition, "somewhat abridged," and with a slightly different title, issued in London, 1713 [?] (111) A Discourse Concerning the Grace of Courage, etc. Boston, 1710. (112) Burnings Bewailed: In a Sermon, Occasioned by the Lamentable Fire Which was in Boston, Octob. 2. 1711. In which the Sins which Provoke the Lord to Kindle Fires, are Enquired into. Boston, 1711, 1712. (113) A Discourse Concerning the Death of the Righteous. Occasioned by the Death of . . . John Foster Esqr. . . . And of his Pious Consort, etc. Boston, 1711. (114) A Discourse on sacramental occasions. Boston, 1711. (115) An Earnest Exhortation To The Children of New-England, To Exalt the God of their Fathers. Boston, 1711. Appended is C. Mather's Man Eating the Food of Angels. (116) Meditations on the Glory of the Heavenly World. I. On the Happiness of the Souls of Believers, at the Instant of their Separation from their Bodies. II. On the Glory of the Bodies of God's Children, in the Resurrection World, when they shall be as the Angels of Heaven. III. On the Glory of both Soul and Body . . . after the Day of Judgment, to all Eternity. Boston, 1711. (117) Meditations On the Sanctification of the Lord's Day, and On the Judgments which attend the Profanation of it. To which is added, Seasonable Meditations both for Winter and Summer. Boston, 1712. A second impression the same year. [See no. 119.] (118) A Plain Discourse, shewing who shall, and who shall not, Enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, and How far Men may go and yet fall short of Heaven, etc. Boston, 1712. [Evans' Amer. Bib. enters this both in 1712 and 1713, with slight differences of form. The latter was probably a reprint. Sibley gives it 1713.] (119) Seasonable Meditations both for Winter & Summer. Being the Substance of Two Sermons. Boston, 1712. [See no. 117.] (120) Some Remarks, On a Pretended Answer, To a Discourse concerning the Common-Prayer Worship. With An Exhortation to the Churches in New-England, to hold fast the Profession of their Faith without Wavering. London, 1712. (121) To the Reader. Prefixed to the Fourth Edition of A Letter [24 Aug., 1701] From Some Aged Nonconforming Ministers . . . Touching the Reasons of their Practice. Boston, 1712. (122) The Believers Gain by Death: Opened and Applyed In a Sermon . . . Upon the Death of a Valuable Relative. [His daughter-in-law.] Boston, 1713. (123) Now or Never Is the Time for Men to make Sure of their Eternal Salvation. Several Sermons, etc. Boston, 1713. (124) To the Reader. Prefixed to T. Reynolds's Lives of Mrs. Mary Terry and Mrs. Clissould. London, 1713. (125) To the Reader. Prefixed to H. Flint's Doctrine of the Last Judgment. 1713. (126) A Sermon Wherein is Declared That the Blessed God is Willing to be Reconciled to the Sinful Children of Men. [A portion of no. 118.] Boston, 1713. (127) A Sermon

Concerning Obedience & Resignation to the Will of God in Every Thing. Occasioned by the Death of that Pious Gentlewoman Mrs. Mariah Mather Late Consort of Increase Mather, D.D., Who Entred into her Everlasting Rest . . . April 4, 1714. Boston, 1714. (128) To the Reader. Prefixed to S. Stoddard's Guide to Christ. 1714, 1819, 1825. (129) Preface to C. Mather's Utilia. 1715. (130) Several Sermons Wherein is shewed, I. That Jesus Christ is a Mighty Saviour. II. That God Converts His Elect . . . Commonly before Old Age. III. That when Godly Men dye, Angels carry their Souls to . . . a better World. With a Preface in which there is a brief and true Character of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Bridge, etc. Boston, 1715. (131) A Discourse Concerning the Existence and the Omniscience of God . . . Being the Substance of several Sermons. 1716. (132) A Disquisition Concerning Ecclesiastical Councils. Proving, that not only Pastors, But Brethren delegated by the Churches, have equally a Right to a decisive Vote in such Assemblies. To which is added, Proposals concerning a Consociation of Churches, Agreed upon by a Synod, which Convened at Boston . . . With a Preface, containing a further Vindication of the Congregational Discipline. Boston, 1716. Also in Cong. Quarterly, XII, 25. (133) Two Discourses Shewing, I. That the Lords Ears are open to the Prayers of the Righteous. II. The Dignity & Duty of Aged Servants of the Lord. Also, A Preface in which the Congregational Discipline of the Churches in New-England is Vindicated, with the Authors Dying Testimony there-unto. Boston, 1716. (134) To the Reader. Prefixed to J. Sewall's Precious Treasure in Earthen Vessels. Boston, 1716. (135) Preface to T. Prince's God brings to the Desired Haven. Boston, 1717. (136) Prefaceto C. Mather's Hades Look'd into. 1717. (137) To the Reader. Prefixed to J. Wise's Prayer in Affliction. 1717. (138) To the Reader. Prefixed to J. Capen's Funeral Sermon Occasioned by the Death of Joseph Green. Boston, 1717. (139) Practical Truths, Plainly Delivered: Wherein is Shewed, I. That true Believers . . . shall . . . enjoy Everlasting Life . . . II. That there is a blessed Marriage between Jesus Christ . . . & the true Believer. III. That Men are Infinitely concerned, not only to hear the Voice of Christ, but that they do it, To Day. IV. The Work of the Ministry, described, in an Ordination Sermon. Boston, 1718. (140) Preface to I. Loring's Duty and Interest of Young Persons to Remember their Creator. Boston, 1718. (141) Preface to C. Mather's Marah Spoken to, Or a Brief Essay to do good unto the Widow. Boston, 1718. (142) Preface to C. Mather's Sermon at E. Callender's Ordination. Boston, 1718. (143) A Sermon Wherein is Shewed, I. That the Ministers of the Gospel need, and ought to desire the Prayers of the Lord's People for them. II. That the People of God ought to Pray for his Ministers. Boston, 1718. (144) Sermons wherein Those Eight Characters of the Blessed Commonly called the Beatitudes, Are Opened & Applyed in Fifteen Discourses. To which is added, A Sermon concerning Assurance of the Love of Christ. Boston, 1718. (145) Preface to J. White's Secret Prayer Inculcated. 1718. (146) Preface to T. Symmes's Monitor for the Delaying Sinners. 1718. (147) Attestation. Prefixed to C. Mather's Ratio Disciplinae. 1719. (148) Five Sermons on Several Subjects, I. A Birth Day Sermon, Preached on the Day when the Author attained to the Eightieth Year of his Age. II. A dying Testimony to the Sovereign Grace of God in the Salvation of his Elect, Containing Three Sermons. III. Believers encouraged to Pray, etc. Boston, 1719. Second impression the same year. (149) Preface to William Boyd's God's Way the Best Way, etc. Boston, 1719. (150) Awakening Soul-Saving Truths Plainly Delivered in Several Sermons in which is shewed, I. That Many are called, who are not effectually Called. II. That Men may be of the Visible Church, and yet not be of the Lords Church.

III. That the Chosen of God are comparatively but Few. Boston, 1720. (151) A Further testimony against the scandalous proceedings of the New-North Church in Boston. Boston, 1720. (152) Preface to Hillhouse's Sermon on the Death of his Mother, Rachel Hillhouse. 1720. [Signed also by C. Mather.] (153) Preface to the second ed. of C. Mather's Right Way to Shake off a Viper. 1720. (154) A Seasonable Testimony To Good Order in the Churches Of the Faithful. Particularly Declaring the Usefulness & Necessity of Councils in Order to Preserving Peace and Truth in the Churches. Boston, 1720. (155) Advice to the Children of Godly Ancestors. [Printed from short-hand notes, in A Course of Sermons on Early Piety. By the Eight Ministers who carry on the Thursday Lecture in Boston.] Boston, 1721. (156) Attestation. Prefixed to C. Mather's Accomplished Singer. Boston, 1721. (157) To the Reader. Prefixed to J. Belcher's God Giveth the Increase. 1721. (158) Several Reasons Proving that Inoculating or Transplanting the Small Pox, is a Lawful Practice, and that it has been Blessed by God for the Saving of many a Life. Boston, 1721. Replied to by J. Williams of Boston in Several Arguments, proving that inoculating . . . is not contained in the Law of Physick . . . and therefore unlawful. 1721. Reprinted in I. Mass. Hist. Soc. Col., IX, 275. (159) Some further Account from London, of the Small-Pox Inoculated. The Second Edition. With some Remarks on a late Scandalous Pamphlet Entituled, Inoculation of the Small Pox as practis'd in Boston, etc. Boston, 1721. (160) Charge at W. Waldron's Ordination, May 23, 1722. Printed in C. Mather's Love Triumphant, 1722. (161) A Dying Legacy of a Minister To his Dearly Beloved People, Shewing, I. That true Believers on Jesus Christ may be Assured, of the Salvation of their Souls. II. That Spiritual Wisdom . . . is of all things the most Desirable. III. That there is none whose Dignity and Glory may be compared with that which belongs to our Lord . . . Being the Three Last Sermons Preached. Boston, 1722. (162) Elijah's Mantle. A Faithful Testimony, To the Cause and Work of God, in the Churches of New-England. And the Great End and Interest of these Plantations, Dropt and Left by Four Servants of God [Jonathan Mitchel, John Higginson, William Stoughton, Increase Mather] Famous in the Service of the Churches. Highly Seasonable to be Offered unto the People, etc. Boston, 1722. (163) The Original Rights of Mankind Freely to Subdue and Improve the Earth. Asserted and Maintained by I. M. Boston, 1722. (164) Preface to the Reader. Prefixed to J. Monis's Truth. 1722. (165) An Attestation. Prefixed to C. Mather's Coelestinus. Boston and London, 1723. (166) A Call to the Tempted. A Sermon On the horrid Crime of Self-Murder, Preached on a Remarkable Occasion, by the Memorable Dr. Increase Mather. And now Published from his Notes, for a Charitable Stop to Suicides. Boston, 1723. (167) Diary, during the year 1675–1676. II Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., XIII, 339–374. (168) Extracts from a diary between 1674–1687. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. Portions are printed in First series, III, 317–320, and other portions in Second series, XIII, 398–411. (169) Letters: In Mass. Hist. Soc. Col., First series, III; Second series, VIII; Fourth series, II; New Hampshire Hist. Soc. Col., I; Amer. Antiquarian Soc. Proc., New Series, XIV; Colonial Soc. Mass. Pub., VIII. (170) In manuscript: Autobiography; several vols. Sermons; Notes of Sermons by J. Cotton. In American Antiquarian Society Lib., Worcester, Mass.

B. *Biography and Criticism*

The public careers of Increase and Cotton Mather were so closely associated, that most of the works which consider the influence of either deal with both. Such titles have been listed under the latter.

The Mather Papers. Mass. Hist. Soc., Fourth Series, vol. VIII. (A collection of miscellaneous papers, with letters of I. M., serving to throw light on his career, especially during his years abroad.)

Calamy, E. Memoirs of the Life of . . . Increase Mather. London, 1725.

Colman, B. The Prophet's death; lamented and improved in a sermon preached . . . after the funeral of their venerable and aged pastor Increase Mather, D.D., etc. Boston, 1723.

Mather, C. A Father departing. A Sermon on the departure of the venerable and memorable Dr. Increase Mather. . . . By One who, as a Son with a Father, served with him in the Gospel, etc. Boston, 1723.

—— Parentator. Memoirs of Remarkables in the Life and Death of the Ever-Memorable Dr. Increase Mather. Etc. Boston, 1724, 1742. [Reprint of I. M. 's Conversation with King William. I Mass. Hist. Soc. Col. IX, 245.]

Sibley, J. L. Harvard Graduates. Vol. I, pp. 410–470. Cambridge, 1873. (With elaborate bibliography.)

Walker, W. Ten New England Leaders. 1901.

Whitmore, W. H. Andros Tracts. Prince Soc. Pub. Vol. II. Boston, 1868–74. (Devoted chiefly to his mission to England, and contains his defense.)

—— Memoir of the Rev. Increase Mather. N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., II.

VIII. COTTON MATHER (1663–1728)

The list of Cotton Mather's works as here printed, has been compressed from the elaborate bibliography published in Sibley's Harvard Graduates. It has been checked with other lists, and upwards of two score titles added, the most noteworthy of which are those recovered by Professor Kittredge in his study entitled Some Lost Works of Cotton Mather. The list doubtless contains a plentiful share of errors which have escaped the present editor; nevertheless he is content to leave it so, in the conviction that more time and labour have been expended upon the work of cataloguing the publications of Cotton Mather than their value justifies.

A. *Separate Works*

(1) A Poem Dedicated to the Memory of . . . Mr. Urian Oakes, etc. Boston, 1682. (2) The Boston Ephemeris. An Almanack for the Year of the Christian Aera MDCLXXXIII, etc. Boston, 1683. (3) An Elegy on the Much-to-be-deplored Death of that Never-to-be-forgotten Person, The Reverend Mr. Nathanael Collins; etc. Boston, 1685. (4) The Call of the Gospel Applyed unto All Men in general, and unto a Condemned Malefactor in particular, etc. Boston, [1686?]. Reprinted in Magnalia, VI, 40. [Given in Brit. Mus. Cat. as 1687.] (5) Military Duties, Recommended to an Artillery Company; etc. Boston, 1687. (6) Early Piety, Exemplified in the Life and Death of Mr. Nathaniel Mather . . . whereto are Added Some Discourses, etc. London, 1689. Sec. ed. same year. Boston, 1690. Reprinted in Magnalia. (7) Memorable Providences, Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions, etc. Boston, 1689. Second ed. abridged. London, 1691. Edinburgh, 1697. (8) Right Thoughts in Sad Hours, Representing the Comforts and Duties of Good Men, under all their Afflictions; And Particularly, That one, the Untimely Death of Children; etc. London, 1689. Dunstable, 1811. (9) Small Offers Towards the Service of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness. Four Discourses, etc. Boston, 1689. Reprinted under title The Resolved Christian, 1700. (10) Souldiers Counselled and Comforted. A Discourse, etc. Boston, [1689]. (11) Work upon the Ark. Meditations upon the Ark

as a Type of the Church, etc. Boston, 1689. (12) Addresses to Old Men, and Young Men, and Little Children. In Three Discourses, etc. Boston, 1690. (13) A Companion for Communicants. Discourses upon . . . the Lords Supper, etc. Boston, 1690. (14) The Present State of New-England . . . Upon the News of an Invasion by bloody Indians and French-Men, begun upon Us. Boston, 1690. (15) The Principles of the Protestant Religion Maintained, and Churches of New-England . . . defended, against all the Calumnies of one George Keith, a Quaker, etc. [By the Ministers of the Gospel in Boston.] Boston, 1690. (16) The Serviceable Man. A Discourse . . . unto the General Court, etc. Boston, 1690. (17) Speedy Repentance Urged. A Sermon preached . . . in the Hearing . . . of One Hugh Stone . . . Under a just Sentence of Death . . . To which are Added certain Memorable Providences, etc. Boston, 1690. (18) The Way to Prosperity. A Sermon Preached to the . . . Governour, Council, and Representatives . . . on May 23, 1689. Boston, 1690. [A re-issue of the latter portion of no. 19.] (19) The Wonderful Works of God Commemorated . . . in a Thanksgiving Sermon . . . particularly in the remarkable revolutions of Providence which are everywhere the matter of present observation: With . . . an account of some very stupendous accidents, which have lately happened in France . . . To which is added a Sermon [no. 18] . . . With a short Narrative of several prodigies, which New-England hath of late had the alarms of Heaven in. Boston, 1690. (20) Balsamum Vulnerarium e Scriptura; or the Cause and Cure of a Wounded Spirit. Boston, 1691. (21) Good Souldiers a great Blessing. Boston, 1691. (22) Some Considerations on the Bills of Credit, now passing in New-England, etc. Boston, 1691. [An anonymous pamphlet ascribed to C. M. by Trumbull.] (23) Fair Weather. Or Considerations to Dispel the Clouds and Allay the Storms of Discontent, etc. Boston, 1691. Reissued the same year. 1694. (24) Late Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions, etc. Sec. impression, London, 1691. (25) Little Flocks Guarded against Grievous Wolves, etc. Boston, 1691. [An attack upon the Quakers.] (26) The Old Man's honour; or, the hoary head found in the way of Righteousness. Boston, 1691. (27) Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion. Or the Character and Happiness of a Vertuous Woman. Cambridge, 1691, 1692. London, 1694. Boston, n. d. [1741]. [Listed in Evans' Amer. Bib. as first issued in 1692.] (28) A Scriptural Catechism, etc. Boston, 1691. (29) Things to be Look'd for. Discourses on the Glorious Characters, With Conjectures on the Speedy Approaches of that State, Which is Reserved for the Church of God in the Latter Dayes, etc. Cambridge, 1691. (30) The Triumphs of the Reformed Religion, in America. The Life of the Renowned John Eliot . . . With some Account concerning the late and strange Success of the Gospel, etc. Boston, 1691. London, 1691, 1694, 1820. Reprinted in Magnalia, III, 170. [2d ed. issued with the title The Life and Death of the renown'd Mr J. Eliot, who was the first preacher of the Gospel to the Indians in America . . . carefully corrected. London, 1691.] (31) Blessed Unions. An Union with the Son of God by Faith, And an Union in the Church of God by Love, etc. Boston, 1692. (32) Essay concerning Witchcraft. Letter to John Richards. Boston, 1692. Reprinted in Mass. Hist. Soc. Col., XXXVIII, 391. (33) A Midnight Cry. An Essay for our Awakening out of a Sinful Sleep, etc. Boston, 1692. (34) Optanda. Good Men Described, and Good Things propounded, etc. [Two sermons.] Boston, 1692. (35) Preparatory Meditations upon the Day of Judgment. Boston, 1692. (36) The Day, and the Work of the Day. Boston, 1693. [Fast day sermon in time of drought.] (37) Preface to C. Morton's Spirit of Man. Boston, 1693. (38) Rules for the Societies of Negroes. [Boston, 1693.] With introd.

by G. H. Moore, 1888. (39) A True Account of the Tryals, Examinations, Confessions, Condemnations, and Executions of divers Witches, at Salem, etc. London, 1693. (40) Unum Necessarium . . . Or the Nature and Necessity of Regeneration. Boston, 1693. (41) Warnings from the Dead . . . In Two Discourses, Occasioned by a Sentence of Death, Executed on some Unhappy Malefactors, etc. Boston, 1693. (42) Winter-Meditations. Directions How to Employ the Leisure of the Winter for the Glory of God, etc. Boston, 1693. (43) The Wonders of the Invisible World. Observations . . . upon the Nature, the Number, and the Operations of the Devils, etc. Boston, 1693. 2d. ed. Boston and London, 1693. 3d ed. much abridged, Boston and London, 1693. Re-issued with I. Mather's Account of the Tryals of the New-England Witches. Lib. of Old Authors. London, 1862. Also, with title, Salem Witchcraft, etc., with notes by S. P. Fowler. Cambridge, 1861; edition criticised by Charles Deane [*pseud.* Delta] in Bibliographical Tracts, no. 1. Boston, 1865. (44) Early Religion, Urged in a Sermon, etc. Boston, 1694. (45) The Short History of New-England. A Recapitulation of wonderful Passages . . . in the Protections, and then in the Afflictions, of New-England. Boston, 1694. [See F. J. Turner: First Official Frontier of Mass. Pub. Col. Soc. of Mass., XVII, 269.] (46) Batteries upon the Kingdom of the Devil. Seasonable Discourses upon Some . . . Instances, Wherein Men Gratifie the Grand Enemy of their Salvation. London, 1695. (47) Brontologia Sacra: The Voice of the Glorious God in the Thunder, etc. London, 1695. Reprinted in the Magnalia, VI, 14. (48) Durable Riches. Two Brief Discourses. etc. Boston, 1695, 1715. (49) Help for Distressed Parents. Boston, 1695, (50) Johannes in Eremo. Memoirs, Relating to the Lives of . . . Mr John Cotton . . . Mr John Norton . . . John Wilson . . . Mr John Davenport . . . And Mr Thomas Hooker, etc. [Boston], 1695. Reprinted in Magnalia, III, 8. (51) Mather-Calef Paper on Witchcraft. [Manuscript by C. M. with notes and criticisms by Robert Calef.] [1695?]. Printed in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. Vol. lvii, 240–268. With introd. by W. C. Ford. (52) Memoria Wilsoniana. Or, some Dues unto the Memory of . . . Mr John Wilson, etc. [Boston] 1695. [See no. 50.] (53) Observanda. The Life and Death of the Late Q. Mary, etc. Boston, 1695. (54) Piscator Evangelicus. Or, The Life of Mr Thomas Hooker, etc. [Boston] 1695. [See no. 50.] (55) Seven Select Lectures, etc. London, 1695. [Among other things, The Stage-player Unmasked.] (56) The Christian Thank-Offering. A Brief Discourse . . . Made on a Solemn Thanksgiving, etc. Boston, 1696. (57) Cry against Oppression. Serm. on Prov. 11. 26. Boston, 1696. (58) A Good Master well-Served. A Brief Discourse on the Necessary Properties & Practices of a Good Servant in every-kind of Servitude: And of the Methods that should be taken by the Heads of a Family, to Obtain such a Servant. Boston, 1696. (59) Things for a Distress'd People to think upon. [Election sermon] Boston, 1696. (60) Ecclesiastes. The Life of the Reverend & Excellent Jonathan Mitchel, etc. Boston, 1697. (61) Faith at Work. A Brief and Plain Essay, upon Certain Articles of the Gospel, etc. Boston, 1697. (62) Gospel for the Poor. Boston, 1697. (63) Great Examples of Judgment and Mercy; with Memorables occurring in the Sufferings of Captives among the Indians. Boston, 1697. [Listed by Sibley as of 1696.] (64) Humiliations followed with Deliverances. With an Appendix containing a Narrative of Wonderful Passages relating to the Captivity and Deliverance of Hannah Swarton. Boston, 1697. The Narrative reprinted in the Magnalia, VI, 10. (65) Pietas in Patriam: The Life of His Excellency Sir William Phips, etc. London, 1697, 1699. Reprinted in the Magnalia, II, 35. (66) The Songs of the Redeemed: A Book of Hymns. [Boston, 1697.] (67) Terribilia Dei. Remarkable Judgments

of God, on several Sorts of Offenders, etc. [Two sermons.] Boston, 1697. Reprinted in the Magnalia, vi, 23. (68) The Thoughts of a Dying Man. A . . . Report of Matters uttered by many, in the Last Minutes of their Lives. Boston, 1697. (69) The Way to Excel. Meditations, Awakened by the Death of the Reverend Mr Joshua Moodey, etc. Boston, 1697. (70) The Bostonian Ebenezer. Some Historical Remarks on the State of Boston, etc. [A sermon.] Boston, 1698. Reprinted in the Magnalia, i, 30. In Old South Leaflets. iii, no. 67; Boston, 1896. (71) Eleutheria: Or, An Idea of the Reformation in England, etc. London, 1698. (72) A Good Man making a Good End. The Life and Death of the Reverend Mr John Baily, etc. Boston, 1698. (73) Mens Sana in Corpore Sano. Boston, 1698. (74) A Pastoral Letter to the English Captives in Africa. Boston, 1698. (75) Decennium Luctuosum. An History of Remarkable Occurrences, in the Long War, which New-England hath had with the Indian Salvages, from the Year 1688. Reprinted in the Magnalia, vii, 57. Boston, 1699. Edited by S. G. Drake, 1862. Reprinted in Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675–1699. By Chas. H. Lincoln. New York, 1913. (76) Observable things. The history of ten years rolled away under the great calamities of a war, with Indian Salvages . . . A Sermon. Boston, 1698. [Listed as of 1699 in Brit. Mus. Cat. Included in no. 75.] (77) The Faith of the Fathers. Or, The Articles of the True Religion, etc. Boston, 1699. (78) A Family Well-Ordered. Or an Essay to Render Parents and Children Happy in one another, etc. Boston, 1699. (79) La Fe del Christiano, etc. Boston, 1699. (80) An History of Some Imposters, Remarkably and Seasonably detected, in the Churches of New-England, etc. Boston, 1699. (81) Pillars of Salt. An History of Some Criminals Executed in this Land, for Capital Crimes: With some of their Dying Speeches, etc. Boston, 1699. Reprinted in the Magnalia, vi, 37. (82) The Serious Christian: Or, Three Great Points of Practical Christianity, etc. London, 1699. (83) Thirty Important Cases, Resolved . . . by Several Pastors, etc. Boston, 1699. (84) A Cloud of Witnesses against Balls and Dances. [Boston, 1700?] (85) A Defence of Evangelical Churches. [Boston, 1700.] (86) The Everlasting Gospel. The Gospel of Justification by the Righteousness of God, etc. Boston, 1700. Philadelphia, 1767. (87) The Good Linguist. [Boston, 1700.] (88) Grace Triumphant. [Boston, 1700.] (89) The Great Physician. [Boston, 1700.] (90) A Letter of Advice to the Churches of the Non-conformists in the English Nation, etc. London, 1700. (91) A Monitory and Hortatory Letter, to those English who debauch the Indians, by Selling Strong Drink unto them. Boston, 1700. (92) Monitory "Letter about ye Maintenance of Ministers." Boston, 1700. (93) The Old Principles of New-England. Or Thirty-Three Articles . . . of The Platform of Church-Discipline. [Boston, 1700.] (94) A Pillar of Gratitude. Or, A brief Recapitulation of the Matchless Favours, with which the God of Heaven hath obliged the Hearty Praises of His New-English Israel. [Election sermon.] Appended is an Extract of some Accounts, concerning the Wonderful Success of the Glorious Gospel in the East-Indies. Boston, 1700. (95) Reasonable Religion. Or, The Truth of the Christian Religion Demonstrated, etc. Boston, 1700. Reprinted together with The Religion of the Closet, and Family Religion Urged. London, 1713. (96) The Religious Marriner. A brief discourse . . . to direct the course of sea-men . . . which may bring them to the Port, of Eternal happiness. Boston, 1700. [Listed in Sibley as of 1699.] (97) The Resolved Christian; Pursuing the Designs of Holiness and Happiness. [Boston], 1700. [A reprint of no. 9.] (98) Things that Young People should Think upon. Or, The Death of Young People Improved, etc. Boston, 1700. (99) A Token for the Children of New-England. Or, Some Examples of Children to

whom the Fear of God was Remarkably Budding, before they Dyed, etc. Boston, 1700. (100) A Warning to the Flocks Against Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing. Or, A Faithful Advice . . . unto the Churches of New England, relating to the Dangers that may arise from Imposters, Pretending to be Ministers, etc. Boston, 1700. Reprinted in the Magnalia, VII, 30. (101) Wussukwhonk En Christianeue asuh peantamwae Indianog . . . An Epistle to the Christian Indians, etc. Boston, 1700, 1706. (102) Ye Young Man's Monitor. Boston, 1700. (103) American Tears upon the Ruines of the Greek Churches. A . . . History of the Darkness come upon the Greek Churches, in Europe and Asia, etc. Boston, 1701. (104) A Christian at his Calling. Two Brief Discourses, etc. Boston, 1701. (105) A Collection, of some of the many offensive matters, contained in a pamphlet, entituled The Order of the Gospel revived. Boston, 1701 [See no. 77 under I. M.] (106) A Companion of the Afflicted. The Duties and the Comforts of Good Men under their Afflictions, etc. Boston, 1701. (107) Consolations. November, 1701. [Boston, 1701.] [A poem on blindness.] (108) Death made Easie & Happy. London, 1701. (109) Some Few Remarks upon A Scandalous Book, against the Government and Ministry of New-England. Written by one Robert Calef. Detecting the Unparall'd Malice & Falsehood, of the said Book; and Defending the Names of several particular Gentlemen, by him therein aspersed and abused, etc. Boston, 1701. [*Cf.* no. 51.] (110) Thaumatographia Christiana. The Wonders of Christianity, etc. Boston, 1701. (111) Triumphs over Troubles. Boston, 1701. (112) Ye Young mans Preservative. Boston, 1701. (113) An Advice to the Churches of the Faithful: Briefly Reporting the Present State of the Church, etc. Boston, 1702. (114) Arma Virosq; Cano: Or, The Troubles which the Churches of New-England have undergone in the Wars, which the People of that Country have had with the Indian Salvages. In the Magnalia, VII, 41. Reprinted with The History of King Philip's War, by I. Mather. Andros Tracts. Boston, 1862. (115) Cares about the Nurseries. Two brief Discourses . . . offering Methods and Motives for Parents to Catechise their Children, etc. Boston, 1702. (116) Christianity to the Life. Boston, 1702. (117) Christianus per Ignem. . . . With Devout and Useful Meditations, Fetch'd out of the Fire, by a Christian in a Cold Season, Sitting before it, etc. Boston, 1702. (118) A Letter to the Ungospellized Plantations, etc. Boston, 1702. (119) Magnalia Christi Americana: Or the Ecclesiastical History of New-England, from its First Planting in the Year 1720. unto the Year of our Lord, 1698. London, 1702. Re-issued in two vols. Hartford and New Haven, 1820. The same with notes by T. Robbins, and translations of foreign quotations by L. F. Robinson, together with a life of C. M. by S. G. Drake. Hartford, 1853. [Replied to by G. Bishop (a Quaker) in New-England Judged . . . with . . . an answer to C. Mather's abuses of the said people, in his late History of New England, etc. 1702.] (120) Maschil, Or, The Faithful Instructor . . . Twenty Six Exercises Upon the New-English Catechism, etc. Boston, 1702. (121) A monitory Letter to them who Needlessly and Frequently Absent themselves from the publick Worship of God. Boston, 1702, 1712, 1738. (122) Much in Little; or three Brief Essays to sum up the whole Christian Religion. Boston, 1702. (123) Necessary Admonitions . . . Or, A Brief Discourse Concerning Sins of Omission. Boston, 1702. (124) Notes of a Sermon delivered on a Fast at Woburn. [Boston? not in Evans], 1702. (125) The Pourtraiture of A Good Man, etc. Boston, 1702. (126) A Seasonable Testimony to the Glorious Doctrines of Grace, At this Day many ways undermined in the World, etc. Boston, 1702. (127) Sound Words, to be held fast, in Faith and Love. Or, The Christian Religion, Epitomized and Inculcated in Three Essayes. Etc. Boston, 1702. (128) Agreeable Admonitions for Old and Young. Boston, 1703.

(129) The Day which the Lord hath made. A Discourse Concerning The Institution and Observation of the Lords-Day. Boston, 1703, 1707. [Sec. ed. includes translation into Indian.] (130) The Duty of Children Whose Parents have Pray'd for them. Etc. Boston, 1703, 1719. (131) Eureka, Or a Vertuous Woman found. An Essay on the Death of Mrs Mary Brown. Boston, 1703. (132) A Family Sacrifice. A Brief Essay to Direct and Excite Family-Religion, etc. Boston, 1703, 1707, 1714 [with Indian translation], 1720, 1727, 1740. [Also reprinted in Lond.] (133) The Glory of Goodness; with Remarks on the Redemption of Captives from the Cruelties of Barbary. Boston, 1703. (134) Great Consolations: or a Tempted Christian Triumphing over his Temptations. Boston. 1703. (135) The High attainment. A Discourse on resignation. Boston, 1703. (136) The House of Mourning . . . a sermon occasioned by the death of Mrs Abagail Mather. Boston, 1703. [The second part of no. 135.] (137) Jedidiah: or a Favorite of Heaven described. Boston, 1703. (138) Meat out of the Eater. Or, Funeral-Discourses, Occasioned by the Death of Several Relatives. Etc. Boston, 1703. [See no. 136.] (139) Methods and Motives for Society to suppress Disorders. Boston, 1703. (140) Notes of a Sermon at Boston Lecture, 16 September, 1703. [n. d.] (141) The Retired Christian. Or, The Duty of Secret Prayer, Publickly inculcated; etc. Boston, 1703. (142) Wholesome Words. A visit of advice, given unto families that are visited with sickness, etc. Boston, 1703, 1713, 1721. (143) The Wonderful works of God commemorated, etc. Boston, 1703. [A re-issue of a portion of no. 19.] (144) The Armour of Christianity. A Treatise, Detecting . . . the Plots of the Devil against our Happiness. . . the Wiles by which those Plots are managed. And . . . the Thoughts by which those Wiles may be Defeated. Boston, 1704. (145) Baptistes: A Conference about the Subject and Manner of Baptism. Between C. M. and D. R. Boston, 1704, 1724. (146) A Comforter of the Mourners. An Essay for the Undoing of Heavy Burdens, etc. Boston, 1704. (147) A Faithful Monitor. Offering, An Abstract of the Lawes in the Province of the Massachusett-Bay, New-England Against those Disorders, the Suppression whereof is desired and pursued by them that wish well to the worthy Designs of Reformation, etc. Boston, 1704. (148) Faithful Warnings to prevent Fearful Judgments . . . by a Tragical Spectacle, in a Number of Miserables under a Sentence of Death for Piracy, etc. Boston, 1704. [A second title, Conversion exemplified. A poem.] (149) The Nets of Salvation. A Brief Essay upon the Glorious Designs & Methods of Winning the Minds of Men unto Serious Religion. New London, 1704. [Given in Evans Amer. Bib., as Boston.] (150) The Reprover doing his Duty. Boston, 1704. [The second portion of no. 147.] (151) A Servant of the Lord not ashamed of his Lord. Boston, 1704. (152) A Tree planted by the Rivers of Water. Or, An Essay, upon the Godly and Glorious Improvements, which Baptised Christians are to make of their Sacred Baptism. Boston, 1704. (153) Le Vrai Patron des Saines Paroles. Boston, 1704. (154) A Weaned Christian. Or, Some Things, by which a Serious Christian may be made Easy when Great Things are Deny'd unto him. Etc. Boston, 1704. (155) Youth under a Good Conduct. A Short Essay to render Young People Happy, by Engaging them in the wayes of Early & Serious Religion. Etc. Boston, 1704. (156) A Faithful Man, Described and Rewarded. Some Observable & Serviceable Passages in the Life and Death of Mr Michael Wigglesworth. Late Pastor of Maldon; etc. Boston, 1705, 1849. (157) The Hatchets to hew down the Tree of Sin, which bears the Fruit of Death. Or, the Laws, by which the Magistrates are to punish Offenses among the Indians as well as among the English. Etc. [With Indian translation.] Boston, 1705. [See Proc. of Amer. Antiquar. Soc., no. LXI, 58.] (158) A Letter, About the Present State of

Christianity, among the Christianized Indians in New-England. Written to . . . Sir William Ashurst, etc. Boston, 1705. [Signed by I. Mather, Cotton Mather, Nehemiah Walter.] (159) Lex Mercatoria. Or, The Just Rules of Commerce Declared, etc. Boston, 1705. (160) Mare Pacificum; or the Satisfactions of afflicted Christianity. Boston, 1705. (161) Monica Americana. A Funeral-Sermon Occasioned by the Death of Mrs. Sarah Leveret, etc. Boston, 1705 (162) Nicetas. Or, Temptations to Sin, and Particularly to the Sin Wherewith Youth is most Usually and Easily Ensnared, etc. Boston, 1705. (163) Parental Wishes and Charges. Or, The Enjoyments of a Glorious Christ, Proposed, as the great Blessedness which Christian Parents desire for themselves, and for their Children. Boston, 1705. (164) The Religion of the Closet. Etc. Boston, 1705, 1706. 4th ed., 1715. (165) The Rules of a Visit . . . How the Visits of Christians to one another, may be so Managed, as to Answer the Noble Designs of Christianity. Etc. Boston, 1705. (166) The Christian Temple. Or, An Essay Upon A Christian Considered as A Temple. Etc. Boston, 1706. (167) Free-Grace, Maintained & Improved. Etc. Boston, 1706. (168) Good fetch'd out of Evil: A Collection of Memorables relating to our Captives. Boston, 1706. (169) Good Lessons for Children, in Verse. Boston, 1706. ["It quickly had a second edition."] (170) The Good Old Way. Or, Christianity Described . . . In the Lives of the Primitive Christians. Etc. Boston, 1706. (171) Heavenly Considerations: or the Joy of Heaven over them that answer the Call of Heaven. Boston, 1706. (172) The Impenitent Sinner disarm'd of his Plea for Impenitency. Boston, 1706. (173) The Negro Christianized. An Essay to Excite and Assist . . . The Instruction of Negro-Servants in Christianity. Boston, 1706. (174) New and Remarkable Discoveries of Quakerism. [Manuscript sent to London; perhaps not printed.] (175) Private Meetings Animated and regulated. Etc. Boston, 1706. (176) Vigilantius. Or, A Servant of the Lord Found Ready for the Coming of the Lord. A Discourse Occasioned by the Early Death of Seven Young Ministers, etc. Boston, 1706. (177) A Young Follower of a Great Saviour. Boston, 1706. (178) Another Tongue brought in, to confess the great Saviour of the World; or, Some Communications . . . put into a Tongue used among the Iroquois Indians, etc. Boston, 1707. (179) The Best Ornaments of Youth. Etc. Boston, 1707. (180) The Fall of Babylon. Boston, 1707. [A portion of no. 181, issued separately.] (181) Frontiers Well-Defended. An Essay To Direct the Frontiers of a Countrey Exposed unto the Incursions of a Barbarous Enemy, How to behave, etc. Boston, 1707. [See note to no. 45.] (182) The Greatest Concern in the World. [?], 1707. New London, 1718. (183) A Memorial of the Present Deplorable State of New-England, With the Many Disadvantages it lyes under by the Male-Administration of their Present Governour, Joseph Dudley, Esq. and his Son Paul, etc. [London], 1707. Reprinted in Preface to vol. II of Sewall's Diary. Mass. Hist. Soc. Col. Fifth Series, vol. VI. (184) Ornamental Piety. [?], 1707. (185) "Ye soldier told what he shall do." [?], 1707, [?], 1709. (186) The Spirit of Life entring into the Spiritually Dead. Etc. Boston, 1707. (187) A Treacle fetch'd out of a Viper. A Brief Essay Upon Falls into Sins; etc. Boston, 1707. (188) A Very Needful Caution. A Brief Essay to Discover the Sin that Slayes its Ten Thousands . . . With some Antidotes against the Infection of Covetousness, etc. Boston, 1707. (189) Corderius Americanus. An Essay upon the Good Education of Children. . . . In a Funeral Sermon upon Mr Ezekiel Cheever . . . Master of the Free-School in Boston, etc. Boston, 1708, 1774. 1828 [Abridged and with new material]. (190) The Deplorable State of New-England, By Reason of a Covetous and Treacherous Governour and Pusillanimous Counsellors, with a Vindication of the Hon$^{\underline{ble}}$ Mr Higginson, Mr

Mason . . . To which is Added, An Account of the Shameful Miscarriage of the Late Expedition against Port-Royal. London, 1708. [A reply to a reply to no. 183. Ascribed to C. M. by Palfrey. Mass. Hist. Soc. Col. Preface to vol. VI. Fifth Series.] (191) A Good Evening for the Best of Dayes. An Essay to Manage an Action of Trespass, against Those who Misspend the Lords-Day Evening, etc. Boston, 1708. (192) Letter to Governor Joseph Dudley. I. Mass. Hist. Soc. Col., III, 128. (193) The Man of God Furnished. The Way of Truth, Laid out; etc. Boston, 1708, 1721. (194) Sober Considerations, on a Growing Flood of Iniquity . . . and to Warn People, particularly of the Woful Consequences [of] the Prevailing Abuse of Rum. Boston, [1708]. (195) Winthropi Justa. A Sermon at the Funeral of . . . John Winthrop, Esq. Late Governor of . . . Connecticut. Etc. Boston, 1708, 1709. London, 1709. Boston and London, 1710. (196) The Bonds of the Covenant. Boston, 1709. (197) A Christian Conversing with the Great Mystery of Christianity. The Mystery of the Trinity, etc. [Boston], 1709. (198) The Cure of Sorrow. An Essay directing Persons under Sadness what Course to take, etc. Boston, 1709. (199) The Desires of the Repenting Believer. Boston, 1709. (200) An Essay on the Streets of the Holy City. [Boston? not in Evans], 1709. (201) Family Religion Urged. Etc. Boston, 1709, 1747. (202) A Golden Curb, for the Mouth, which . . . Rushes into the Sins of Profane Swearing and Cursing. Boston, 1709. (203) Nunc Dimittis. . . The Happy Dismission, of the Holy Believer . . . Considered in a Funeral Sermon, for . . . Mr John Higginson, etc. Boston, 1709. (204) The Sailours Companion and Counsellour. Etc. Boston, 1709. (205) "Ye Sum of ye matter: Abridgmt of ye Assemblies Catechism. 1709."? (206) The Temple Opening. A Particular Church Considered as a Temple of the Lord. Etc. Boston, 1709. (207) Work Within-Doors. 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Especially, The Surprising Distresses and Deliverances of a Company lately Shipwrecked . . . on the coast of New-England. Boston, 1711. 2d impression the same year. (221) Manly Christianity. Etc. London, 1711. (222) Memorials of Early Piety. Occurring in the Holy Life & Joyful Death of Mrs Jerusha Oliver. Etc. Boston, 1711. (223) The Old Pathes Restored. Etc. [On the doctrine of grace.] Boston, 1711. London, 1712. (224) Orphanotrophium. Or, Orphans Well-provided for. An Essay, On the Care taken in the Divine Providence for Children when their Parents forsake them. Etc. Boston, 1711. (225) Perswasions from the Terror of the Lord. A Sermon concerning The Day of Judgment; etc. Boston, 1711. (226) The Right Way to shake off a Viper . . . What shall Good Men do, when they are Evil Spoken of. London, 1711. Boston, 1720. A second impression the same year. (227) Awakening Thoughts on the Sleep of Death. Etc. Boston, 1712. (228) Curiosa Americana. Not published. 1712. [First series.] Excerpted in Philosophical Transactions, London. April-June, 1714. The original MSS. in the Letter-Book of the Royal Soc. (229) The Fishermans Calling. A Brief Essay, to Serve the Great Interests of Religion among our Fisher-men. Etc. Boston, 1712. (230) Grace Defended. Etc. Boston, 1712. ["One of the earliest Christmas sermons preached from a Puritan pulpit in New England."] (231) Grata Brevitas . . . To demonstrate . . . The most Weighty Matters of Religion, offered in several Abridgments, etc. Boston, 1712. (232) Pastoral Desires. A Short Catalogue of Excellent Things, which a True Pastor, will Desire to see . . . among his People. Etc. Boston, 1712. (233) Preface to J. Pierpont's Sundry False Hopes of Heaven Discovered and Decryed. Boston, 1712. (234) Reason Satisfied: and Faith Established. The Resurrection of a Glorious Jesus Demonstrated by many Infallible Proofs: etc. Boston, 1712. (235) Repeated Warnings. 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Another Essay, to Recommend & Inculcate the Maxims of Early Religion, etc. Boston, 1712. (244) The A, B, C, of Religion. Lessons Relating to the Fear of God, etc. Boston, 1713. (245) Adversus Libertinos. Or, Evangelical Obedience Described and Demanded, etc. Boston, 1713. [An attack upon Antinomianism.] (246) Advice from the Watch Tower . . . A brief Essay to Declare the Danger . . . of all Evil Customes in general; And . . . a more particular Catalogue of Evil Customes growing upon us; etc. Boston, 1713. (247) The Best Way of Living; Which is to Die Daily: etc. Boston, 1713. (248) A Christian Funeral . . . What should be the Behaviour of a Christian at a Funeral? Boston, 1713. (249) The Curbed Sinner . . . Occasioned by a Sentence of Death, passed on a poor Young Man, for the Murder of his Companion, etc. Boston, 1713. [The second part of no. 258.] (250) A Flying Roll, Brought forth, to Enter into the House and Hand of the Thief. The Crime & the Doom of the Thief declared, etc. Boston, 1713. (251) Golgotha. A Lively Description of Death . . . Occasioned by some fresh Instances . . . With a more particular Memorial of

. . . Mr Recompense Wadsworth, a Late School-Master in Boston. Boston, 1713. (252) Hezekiah. A Christian Armed with Strength from above; etc. Boston, 1713. (253) Instructions for Children, in verse, including the Body of Divinity versified. Boston, 1713. [Appended to no. 244.] (254) A Letter About a Good Management under the Distemper of the Measles, at this time Spreading in the Country. Etc. Boston, 1713. (255) A Man of his Word . . . on Fidelity in Keeping of Promises and Engagements. Boston, 1713. (256) Nepenthes Evangelicum . . . A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of a Religious Matron, Mrs Mary Rock, etc. Boston, 1713. (257) A Present of Summer Fruit . . . To Offer Some Instructions of Piety, Which the Summer-Season . . . Leads us to; etc. Boston, 1713. (258) The Sad Effects of Sin. A True Relation of the Murder Committed by David Wallis, on his Companion Benjamin Stolwood. Etc. Boston, 1713. [Three titles: the second is no. 249, the third, The Hainous nature of the sin of Murder, by B. Colman.] (259) Tabitha Rediviva. An Essay to Describe and Commend the Good Works of a Vertuous Woman . . . With some Justice done to the Memory of . . . Mrs Elizabeth Hutchinson. Boston, 1713. (260) A Testimony against Evil Customs Given by Several Ministers. Boston, 1713. (261) Things to be more thought upon. A Brief Treatise on the Injuries Offered unto the Glorious and Only Saviour of the World, etc. Boston, 1713. (262) What should be most of All Tho't upon. A Brief Essay to Awaken . . . A Proper and a Lively Concern for a Good State after Death. Etc. Boston, 1713. (263) The Will of a Father Submitted to. The Duty of Patient Submission to every Condition, which the Providence of God, Orders for the Children of Men. Boston, 1713. (264) Death Approaching. Boston, 1714. (265) Duodecennium Luctuosum. The History of a Long War With Indian Salvages, And their Directors and Abettors; From the Year, 1702. To the Year, 1714. Etc. Boston, 1714. (266) The Glorious Throne. A Short View of Our Great Lord-Redeemer, On His Throne . . . And most Particularly . . . the Death of our Late Memorable Sovereign, And the Legal Succession . . . to the Illustrious House of Hanover. Etc. Boston, 1714. (267) Insanabilia; or an Essay upon Incurables; etc. Boston, 1714. (268) A Life of Piety Resolv'd upon . . . A Walk before the Glorious God. And the Resolutions Wherewith such a Walk is to be come into. Made upon the Death of . . . Mrs Sarah Thing; etc. Boston, 1714. (269) Maternal Consolations . . . on the Death of Mrs Maria Mather, the Consort of the Eminent Dr. Increase Mather. Boston, 1714. (270) A Monitor for Communicants. An Essay to Excite and Assist . . . Religious Approaches to the Table of the Lord. Etc. Boston, 1714, 1715, 1716 [in English and Indian]. New London, 1732. Boston, 1750. (271) Pascentius. A very brief Essay upon the Methods of Piety. Etc. Boston, 1714. (272) A Perfect Recovery . . . Exhibited in a Brief Discourse to the Inhabitants of a Place, that had Pass'd thro' a very Sickly Winter, And a Time of much Adversity. Boston, 1714. (273) The Religion of the Cross . . . Occasioned by what was Encountred in the Death of . . . Mrs. Elizabeth Mather [his wife], etc. Boston, 1714. (274) The Sacrificer. An Essay upon the Sacrifices, Wherewith a Christian . . . Endeavours to Glorify God. Boston. 1714. (275) The Saviour with his Rainbow . . . the Covenant which God will remember in the Times of Danger passing over his Church. London, 1714. (276) A Short Life, yet not a vain one: occasioned by some Instances of Mortality. Boston, 1714. (277) A Short View of our Glorious Redeemer on his Throne. Boston, 1714. (278) Verba Vivifica: some Words of Life, produced by the Death of some young Persons. Boston, 1714. (279) Vita brevis: an Essay upon Withering Flowers. Boston, 1714. (280) Benedictus. Good Men Described . . .

With Some Character & History of . . . Mr Thomas Bridge, A Late Pastor of the First-Church in Boston; etc. Boston, 1715. (281) The Grand Point of Sollicitude. A very brief Essay upon Divine Desertions, the Symptoms of them, etc. Boston, 1715. (282) Just Commemorations. The Death of Good Men Considered; and The Characters of Some who have Lately Died in the Service of the Churches . . . Unto which there is added, A brief Account of the Evangelical Work among the Christianized Indians of New-England; Whereof One of the Persons here Commemorated was a valuable . . . Instrument. [Life of Grindal Rawson.] Boston, [1715.] (283) "Monitor for ye Children of ye Cov$^{\underline{ent}}$." [Boston], 1715. [Possibly identical with no. 271.] (284) Nuncia Bona e Terra Longinqua. A Brief Account of Some Good & Great Things A Doing For the Kingdom of God, In the Midst of Europe: etc. Boston, 1715. (285) Parentalia. An Essay Upon the Blessings and Comforts Reserved for Pious Children after the Death of their Pious Parents. Etc. Boston, 1715. (286) Shaking Dispensations. An Essay Upon the Mighty Shakes, which the Hand of Heaven . . . is giving to the World. With . . . Remarks on the Death of the French King, etc. Boston, 1715. (287) A Sorrowful Spectacle. In Two Sermons Occasioned by a Just Sentence of Death, on a Miserable Woman, for the Murder of a Spurious Offspring . . . With some Remarkable Things, relating to the Criminal; proper for All to be Informed of. Boston, 1715. [Appended is B. Colman's The Divine Compassions declar'd and magnified.] (288) Successive Generations. Remarks upon the Changes of a Dying World, Made by One Generation passing off, and another Generation coming on. Boston, 1715. (289) Verba Opportuna: The Circumstances of Boston considered, with fresh Inculcations of Piety. Boston, 1715. (290) The Christian Cynick. A brief Essay On a Merciful Saviour, Address'd by an Unworthy Sinner; etc. Boston, 1716. (291) Curiosa Americana, continued in Letters to ye Learned & Famous John Woodward M.D. . . . from Cotton Mather, etc. 1716. Contains, 1, Monstrous Impraegnations; 2, A Monstrous Calf; 3, The Nidification of Pigeons; 4, A Triton; 5, A Serpent securely handled; 6, A Strange Mischief to the Eyes; 7, Strength of Imagination; 8, The Stone Mistaken; 9, Surprizing Influences of the Moon; 10, Curiosities of the Small Pox; 11, The Fagiana. [The second series of Cur. Amer., written in 1714, was sent to England for publication by the Royal Soc. Fearful that they were lost, Mather reproduced them as above. See Kittredge, under *Biography and Criticism*.] (292) A brief Essay on Tokens for Good. [Boston?], 1716. (293) The City of Refuge. The Gospel of the City Explained, etc. Boston, 1716. (294) Directions How to spend the Lords Day Evening. Boston, 1716. (295) The Echo's of Devotion. A very brief and plain Essay on those Acts of Compliance which all Calls to Piety are to be entertained withal. Boston, 1716. (296) Fair Dealing between Debtor and Creditor. A very brief Essay upon The Caution to be used, about coming into Debt, And getting out of it. Boston, 1716. (297) Letter to Dr. John Woodward, of London, respecting Bridget and Jane Moulton, etc. 1716. Col. New Hamp. Hist. Soc., III, 122. (298) Life swiftly Passing and quickly Ending. A very Short Sermon . . . after the Death of Mrs. Mehetabel Gerrish, etc. Boston, 1716. (299) Marah spoken to. A brief Essay to do good unto the Widow. Etc. Boston, 1716, 1718. (300) Menachem . . . On Tokens of Good . . . also some Good Things of a Late Occurrence . . . which have a Comfortable Aspect on the Protestant Religion in General, etc. Boston, 1716. (301) Piety Demanded. [Boston?], 1716. (302) The Pleasures of True Piety. Boston, 1716. (303) The Resort of Piety. Our Saviour Considered and Exhibited as a Tree of Life, etc. Boston, 1716. (304) The Servant of Abraham. With Motives for the Instruction of Servants. Boston, 1716. (305)

Some Seasonable Advice unto the Poor To be annexed unto the Kindnesses of God, etc. [Boston, 1716.] (306) The Stone Cut out of the Mountain. And The Kingdom of God, in Those Maxims of it, that cannot be shaken. Etc. Boston, 1716. (307) Utilia. Real and Vital Religion Served, in the Various & Glorious Intentions of it. Etc. Boston, 1716. (308) Anastasius; The Resurrection of Lazarus improved. Boston, 1717. (309) A Brief Account of the State of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, Civil and Ecclesiastical. Boston, 1717. (310) The Case of a troubled Mind . . . Which apprehends the Face of a gracious God Hidden from it. Etc. Boston, 1717, 1741. (311) Febrifugium. An Essay for the Cure of Ungodly Anger. Boston, 1717. (312) Hades Look'd into. The Power of Our Great Saviour Over the Invisible World, and the Gates of Death . . . Considered, In a Sermon Preached at the Funeral of . . . Wait Winthrop, Esq; etc. Boston, 1717. (313) Icono-clastes. An Essay upon the Idolatry, too often committed under the Profession of the most Reformed Christianity; etc. Boston, 1717. (314) Instructions to the Living, from the Condition of the Dead. A Brief Relation of Remarkables in the Shipwreck of above One Hundred Pirates, Who were Cast away in the Ship Whido . . . April 26. 1717. And in the Death of Six, who . . . were Convicted & Condemned . . . And Executed, etc. Boston, 1717. (315) Malachi. Or, The Everlasting Gospel Preached unto the Nations. Etc. Boston, 1717. Philadelphia, 1767. (316) Piety and Equity United. In Two Essays: etc. Boston, 1717. (317) Preface by Dr. Increase Mather and Dr. Cotton Mather to Bridgewater's Monitor, by James Keith and Samuel Danforth. Boston, 1717. (318) Proposals for printing by subscription Psalterium Americanum. Boston, 1717. (319) Raphael: The Blessings of an healed Soul considered. Boston, 1717. (320) A Speech made unto his excellency, Samuel Shute Esq . . . By the Reverend Dr. Cotton Mather, Attended with the Ministers . . . May 30. 1717. Boston, 1717. (321) The Thankful Christian. A brief Essay, Upon those Returns of Thankfulness and Obediance to the Glorious God, etc. Boston, 1717. (322) The Tribe of Asher. A brief Essay on the Conspicuous Blessings with which the People of God and their Offspring are known to be the Blessed of the Lord. Etc. Boston, 1717. (323) The Valley of Baca. The Divine Sov'reignty, Displayed & Adored . . . A Sermon Preached on the Death of Mrs Hannah Sewall; The Religious & Honourable Consort of Samuel Sewall Esq; etc. Boston, 1717. (324) The Valley of Hinnom. The Terrours of Hell demonstrated . . . In a Sermon Preached in the Hearing, and at the Request of a Man under a Sentence of Death for a Murder; etc. Boston, 1717. (325) Victorina. A Sermon Preach'd On the Decease and At the Desire, of Mrs Kathrin Mather, By her Father. Etc. Boston, 1717. With additions, 1727. (326) The Voice of the Dove; with Memoirs of Mr Robert Kitchen. Boston, 1717. (327) Zelotes. A Zeal For the House of God; Blown up, in a Sermon, etc. Boston, 1717. [A dedication sermon on a new meeting-house in Summer Street.] (328) Brethren dwelling together in Unity. The True Basis for an Union Among the People of God . . . In a Sermon. Preached at the Ordination of a Pastor, in the Church of the Baptists. Boston, 1718. (329) Early Piety, exemplified in Elizabeth Butcher of Boston, etc. Boston, 1718. (330) Faith Encouraged . . . a Strange Impression from Heaven, on the Minds of Some Jewish Children, At the City of Berlin, etc. Boston, 1718. (331) A Man of Reason. A Brief Essay to demonstrate That all Men should hearken to Reason, etc. Boston, 1718. (332) The Obedient Sufferer. Boston, 1718. (333) Providence asserted and adored: A Sermon occasioned by the Death of several who were drowned. Boston, 1718. [1716?]. (334) Psalterium Americanum. The Book of Psalms, In a translation exactly conformed unto the original; but all in blank verse, fitted unto the tunes commonly used in our churches. Etc. Boston, 1718. [See no. 318.] (335) Right Hand of Fellowship of the Churches at the Ordination of Thomas Prince. [Boston?], 1718. (336) Vanishing Things. An Essay on Dying Man . . . In a Sermon Preached on the Departure . . . of Mr Thomas Bernard, etc. Boston, 1718. (337) Concio ad Populum. A Distressed People Entertained with Proposals for the Relief of their Distresses, etc. Boston, 1719. (338) Desiderius. Or, A Desirable Man Describ'd . . . Commemoration of . . . Mr James Keith, etc. Boston, 1719. (339) The Duty of Children, Whose Parents have Pray'd for them, etc. Boston, 1719. (340) Genethlia Pia; Or, Thoughts for a Birth-Day. Boston, 1719. (341) A Glorious Espousal. A Brief Essay to Illustrate the Marriage, wherein Our Great Saviour offers to Espouse unto Himself the Children of Men; And . . . to Recommend . . . a Good Carriage in the Married Life. Etc. Boston, 1719. (342) An Heavenly Life. A Christian taught how to live, etc. Boston, 1719. (343) History of Seasonable Interposition Especially Relating to the Fifth of November. Boston, 1719. (344) Letter to Rev. Thomas Bradbury Septemb 7. 1719. Prefixed to Bradbury's Necessity for Revealed Religion. 1719. (345) A Letter giving the "Character of the Inhabitants of New England, and of Col. Shute, their present Governour." Nov. 4. 1718. 1719. (346) Mirabilia Dei. An Essay on the very Seasonable & Remarkable Interpositions of the Divine Providence . . . Especially relating to that Twice-Memorable Fifth of November. Etc. Boston, 1719. (347) A New-Year Well-begun. An Essay Offered on a New-Years-Day, etc. Boston, 1719. New-London, 1719. (348) The Religion of an Oath. Plain Directions How the Duty of Swearing May be Safely Managed, etc. Boston, 1719. (349) Sincere Piety described, and the Trial of Sincerity assisted. Boston, 1719. (350) A Testimony against Evil Customs. Given by Several Ministers of the Gospel. Etc. Boston, 1719. (351) The Tryed Professor. A very Brief Essay, to Detect and Prevent Hypocrisy, etc. Boston, 1719. (352) Vigilius. Or The Awakener . . . To Rebuke first the Natural Sleep Which too often proves a Dead Fly . . . And then the Moral Sleep, etc. Boston, 1719. (353) A Voice from Heaven. An Account of an uncommon Appearance in the Heavens, with Remarks upon it. Boston, 1719. (354) Youth Advised: An Essay on the Sins of Youth. Boston, 1719. (355) A Brother's Duty: An Essay on every Man his Brothers Keeper. Boston, 1720. (356) Coheleth. A Soul upon Recollection . . . Offering the Advice of a Father going out of the World, unto a Son coming into it. Boston, 1720. (357) Detur Digniori. The Righteous Man described. . . . In a Sermon upon the Death of the Reverend Mr Joseph Gerrish, etc. Boston, 1720. (358) Letter [supposed] "To the Hon^{ble} Judge Sewall," April, 1720. Mass. Hist. Soc. Col. XXXII, 122. (359) The Quickened Soul. A Short and Plain Essay on, The Withered Hand Revived and Restored. Boston, 1720. (360) The Salvation of the Soul considered, etc. Boston, 1720. (361) Undoubted Certainties. Or, Piety Enlivened . . . In a Sermon Preached on the Death of Mrs Abigail Sewall, etc. Boston, 1720. (362) A Year and a Life Well Concluded . . . A Sermon Preached on the Last Day of the Year, 1719. Boston, 1720. (363) The Accomplished Singer . . . Intended for the Assistance of all that would Sing Psalms with Grace in their Hearts, etc. Boston, 1721. (364) Address to the Physicians of Boston. 1721. [The first pamphlet (unpublished) of the inoculation controversy. Printed in large part in no. 377. The remainder in no. 411.] (365) American Sentiments on the Arian Controversy. London, 1721. (366) The Christian Philosopher: A Collection of the Best Discoveries in Nature, with Religious Improvements. London, 1721. Charlestown, 1815. [For a history of this work, see Pub. Colonial Soc. of Mass. XIV, 98, note 5.] (367) Curiosa Americana. 1721. Fourth series. [Ten papers, one of which was incorporated in no. 411. See note to no. 377.] (368) The Embassadors Tears. A Minister of the Gospel, Making his Just and Sad Complaint of an Unsuccessful Ministry. Boston, 1721. (369) A Faithful Account of what has occur'd under the late Experiments of the Small-Pox managed and governed in the way of Inoculation. Published, partly to put a stop unto that unaccountable way of Lying, which fills the Town & Country on this occasion; and partly for the Information & Satisfaction of our Friends in other places. Printed in the Boston Gazette, No. 101, 30 Oct., 1721. [See note to no. 377.] (370) Genuine Christianity . . . A Sermon On the Departure of Mrs. Frances Webb, etc. Boston, 1721. (371) Honesta Parsimonia. Or Time Spent as it should be. Etc. Boston, 1721. (372) India Christiana. A Discourse Delivered unto the Commissioners, for the Propagation of the Gospel among the American Indians, etc. Boston, 1721. (373) A Letter to a Friend in the Country, Attempting a Solution of the Scruples & Objections . . . commonly made against the New Way of receiving the Small-Pox. Boston, 1721. (374) A Pastoral Letter, to Families Visited with Sickness. Third impression. Boston, 1721. A re-issue, with changed title, of no. 142. (375) Sentiments on the Small Pox Inoculated. Part two of Several Reasons proving that Inoculating or Transplanting the Small Pox, is a Lawful Practice. Boston, 1721. [The first part by I. Mather.] (376) Silentarius. A Brief Essay on the Holy Silence and Godly Patience, that Sad Things are to be Entertained withal. A Sermon . . . On the Death of Mrs. Abigail Willard . . . By her Father. Boston, 1721. (377) Some Account of what is said of Inoculating or Transplanting the Small Pox. By . . . Dr Emanuel Timonius, and Jacobus Pylarinus. With some Remarks thereon. To which are added A Few Quaeries in Answer to the Scruples of many about the Lawfulness of this Method. Published by Dr. Zabdiel Boylstone. 1721. [Largely by C. M. For a full discussion of this and other Inoculation titles, see Kittredge, Some Lost Works of Cotton Mather.] (378) Some Letters from New-England, Relating to the Controversy of the Present Time. London, 1721. (379) Tremenda. The Dreadful Sound with which the Wicked are to be Thunderstruck. In a Sermon delivered unto a Great Assembly, in which was present, a Miserable African, just going to be Executed, etc. Boston, 1721. Second ed. the same year. (380) A Vision in the Temple. The Lord of Hosts Adored . . . at the Opening of the New Brick Meeting-House in the North part of Boston, etc. Boston, 1721. (381) The Way of Truth laid out. A Catechism, etc. Boston, 1721. [A re-issue of portions of nos. 193, 180, 120.] (382) What the pious parent wishes for. Boston, 1721. [The first sermon in a series by eight ministers on Early Piety.] (383) The World Alarm'd. A Surprizing Relation, Of a New Burning-Island Lately raised out of the Sea, near Tercera. . . . And a Brief History of the other Ignivomous Mountains at this day flaming in the World. Boston, 1721. (384) An Account of the Method and Success of Inoculating the Small-Pox in Boston in New England. In a letter from a Gentleman there, to his Friend in London. London, 1722. Dedicatory letter by J. Dummer. [See note to no. 377.] (385) Bethiah. The Glory Which Adorns the Daughters of God. Boston, 1722. (386) Columbanus. Or, The Doves Flying to the Windows of their Saviour. Boston, 1722. (387) Curiosa Variolarum. 1722. [See note to no. 377.] (388) Divine Afflations. An Essay, To Describe and Bespeak Those Gracious Influences of the Holy Spirit, etc. New-London, 1722. (389) Love Triumphant. A Sermon at the Gathering of a New Church, etc. Boston, 1722. (390) The Minister. A Sermon Offer'd unto the Anniversary Convention of Ministers, etc. Boston, 1722. (391) Pia Desideria. Or the Smoaking Flax, raised into a Sacred Flame; etc. Boston, 1722. (392) Repeated Admonitions. In a Monitory Letter, About the Maintainance Of an Able and Faithful Ministry; etc. Boston, 1722, 1725. (393) Sober Sentiments. In an Essay upon the Vain Presumption of Living & Thriving In the World . . . Produced by the . . . Death of Mr Joshua Lamb, etc. Boston, 1722. (394) The Soul upon the Wing. An Essay on the State of the Dead. Etc. Boston, 1722. (395) The Way of Proceeding in the Small Pox inoculated in New England. Published in Philosophical Transactions, Jan.–March, 1722. London. [See note to no. 377.] (396) A Brief memorial, of matters, and methods for pastoral visits. Boston, 1723. (397) The Case of the Small-Pox Inoculated; further Cleared. To Dr. James Jurin [Sec. of the Royal Soc.]. 1723. (398) Coelestinus. A Conversation in Heaven, Quickened and Assisted, with Discoveries Of Things in the Heavenly World. Etc. Boston, 1723. (399) An Essay on Remarkables in the Way of Wicked Men. Boston, 1723. (400) Euthanasia. A Sudden Death Made Happy and Easy to the Dying Believer, Exemplified in John Frizell, Esq; etc. Boston, 1723. (401) A Father Departing. A Sermon On the Departure of the Venerable and Memorable Dr. Increase Mather . . . By One who, as a Son with a Father, served with him in the Gospel. Boston, 1723. (402) A further Account, of the Method & Success of the Small-Pox Inoculated. 1723. [See note to no. 377.] (403) A Good Character. Or A Walk with God Characterized. With Some Dues paid unto the Memory of Mr Joseph Belcher, etc. Boston, 1723. (404) Good Lessons for Children in verse. New-London, 1723. [Cf. no. 253.] (405) The Lord-High-Admiral of all the Seas, Adored. A Brief Essay upon the Miracle of our Saviour Walking upon the Water. Etc. Boston, 1723. (406) A Pacificatory Letter [on psalm singing in churches]. Boston, 1723. (407) The Pure Nazarite. Advice to a Young Man, etc. Boston, 1723. (408) Some seasonable enquiries offered, for the consideration and satisfaction of them that are willing to weigh things in even balances. And for the establishment of the Reformed Churches, etc. [Boston], 1723. (409) Valerius: or Soul Prosperity. Etc. Boston, 1723. (410) The Voice of God in a Tempest. A Sermon Preached in the Time of the Storm; etc. Boston, 1723. (411) The Angel of Bethesda, Visiting the Invalids of a Miserable World. [1724?] [Listed by Sibley and Evans as of the year 1722, New-London; by Kittredge as of the year 1724. See note to no. 377.] (412) Decus ac Tutamen. A Brief Essay on the Blessings Enjoy'd by a People that have Men of a Right Character Shining among them. Offered in Commemoration of . . . the Honourable Gurdon Saltonstall Esq; etc. New-London, 1724. (413) Light in Darkness. An Essay on the Piety Which by Remembering the Many Days of Darkness, Will Change them into a Mervellous Light. With a Notable Example of it, etc. Boston, 1724. (414) The Nightingale. An Essay on Songs among Thorns. Etc. Boston, 1724. (415) Parentator. Memoirs of Remarkables in the Life and Death of the Ever-Memorable Dr. Increase Mather. Etc. Boston, 1724, 1741. (416) Religious Societies. Proposals For the Revival of Dying Religion, By Well-Ordered Societies for that Purpose. Etc. Boston, 1724. (417) Stimulator, or the Case of a Soul walking in Darkness. [New-London], 1724. (418) Tela Praevisa. A Short Essay on Troubles to be Look'd for. Etc. Boston, 1724. [Sermon on the death of his son Increase.] (419) The True Riches . . . In a brief Essay on the Unsearchable Riches of Christ. Boston 1724. (420) Une grand Voix du Ciel a la France. Boston, 1724. (421) The Words of Understanding. Three Essays; I. The Philomela . . . II. The Ephemeron . . . III. Jonah, etc. Boston, 1724. (423) The Christians daily devotion: A continuation of the Pastoral-letter. Boston, 1725. (423) Christodulus. A Good Reward of a Good Servant . . . With some Commemoration

of Mr Thomas Walter, etc. Boston, 1725. (424) Deus Nobiscum. A Very brief Essay on the Enjoyment of God. Etc. Boston, 1725. (425) Edulcorator. A brief Essay on the Waters of Marah Sweetened . . . In the Praemature Death of Captain Josiah Winslow, Who Sacrificed his Life . . . Engaging an Army of Indians, etc. Boston, 1725. (426) El-Shaddai . . . Produced by the Death of that Vertuous Gentlewoman, Mrs Katharin Willard, etc. Boston, 1725. (427) Memoirs of the Life of the late Reverend Increase Mather D. D. Etc. London, 1725. [Abridged and altered from no. 415.] (428) The New Settlement of the Birds in New England. In Mass. Hist. Soc. Col. XXI, 126, and in Andros Tracts, II, 324, under title Political Fables. (429) The Palmbearers. A brief Relation of Patient and Joyful Sufferings; etc. Boston, 1725. (430) A Proposal for an Evangelical Treasury humbly tendered unto the Churches. [Boston, 1725.] (431) Renatus. A brief Essay on A Soul passing From Death to Life . . . And the Mystery of the Two Adams, etc. Boston, 1725. (432) Virtue in its Verdure. A Christian Exhibited as a Green Olivetree . . . with a Character of the Virtuous Mrs Abigail Brown, etc. Boston, 1725. (433) Vital Christianity: A Brief Essay on the Life of God, in the Soul of Man; etc. Charlestown and Philadelphia, 1725. (434) Zalmonah. The Gospel of the Brazen Serpent, in the Mosaic History. Etc. Boston, 1725. (435) The Choice of Wisdom. A Brief . . . Essay on the Best of Blessings, To be Obtained by the Chusing of them and Asking for them. Etc. Boston, 1726. (436) The Comforts of one walking thro' the Valley of the Shadow of Death. 1726. [Perhaps identical with no. 441.] (437) Diluvium Ignis. De Secundo ac Optando Jehovae-Jesu Adventu; etc. [Boston], 1726. (438) Ecclesiae Monilia. The Peculiar Treasure of the Almighty King Opened . . . Whereof One is more particularly Exhibited, in the Character of Mrs Elizabeth Cotton, etc. Boston, 1726. (439) Fasciculus Viventium. Or, All Good Wishes in One . . . A Soul bound up in the Bundle of Life; etc. Boston, 1726. (440) A Good Old Age. A Brief Essay on the Glory of Aged Piety. Etc. Boston, 1726. (441) Hatzar-Maveth. Comfortable words; . . . on the comforts of one living to God, but walking through the valley of the shadow of death; etc. Boston, 1726. (442) The Instructor in the truths of the Gospel. Boston, 1726. (443) Lampadarius. A very brief Essay, To Show the Light, Which Good Men have in Dark Hours Arising to them. Etc. Boston, 1726. (444) Manuductio ad Ministerium. Directions for a Candidate of the Ministry. Etc. Boston, 1726. Re-issued under title, Student and Preacher, with introd. by J. Ryland, London, 1781, 1789. "The famous Latin preface" reduced "into ordo verborum," with literal translation, by H. Walford. London [?], 1800 [?] (445) Nails Fastened. Or, Proposals of Piety Reasonably and Seasonably Complyed withal. Boston, 1726. (446) Pietas Matutina. One Essay more, to bespeak and engage Early Piety, made . . . from the Early Departure of Mrs Elizabeth Cooper, etc. By her Father. Boston, 1726. (447) Ratio Disciplinæ Fratrum Nov-Anglorum. A Faithful Account of the Discipline Professed and Practised; in the Churches of New-England. Etc. Boston, 1726. Extracts reprinted, Portland, 1829. (448) A Serious Address to those who unnecessarily frequent the Tavern, and often spend the Evening in Publick Houses. By Several Ministers. To which is added, a private letter . . . by the late Reverend Dr. Increase Mather. Boston, 1726. (449) Some Seasonable Advice unto the Poor; etc. Boston, 1726. (450) Suspiria Vinctorum. Some Account of the Condition to which the Protestant Interest in the World is at this Day reduced. Etc. Boston, 1726. (451) Terra Beata. A Brief Essay, on the Blessing of Abraham; etc. Boston, 1726. (452) The Vial poured out upon the Sea. A Remarkable Relation of Certain

Pirates, Brought unto a Tragical and Untimely End. Etc. Boston, 1726. (453) Agricola. Or, The Religious Husbandman: etc. Boston, 1727. (454) The Balance of the Sanctuary. A Short and Plain Essay; Declaring, The True Balance Wherein Every Thing Should be Weighed, etc. Boston, 1727. (455) Baptismal Piety. Two Brief Essays . . . The Angel of the Waters . . . The Angel of the Little Ones, etc. Boston, 1727. (456) Boanerges. A Short Essay to preserve and strengthen the Good Impressions Produced by Earthquakes, etc. Boston, 1727. (457) Christian Loyalty. Or, Some Suitable Sentiments On the Withdraw of King George the First . . . And the Access of King George the Second, etc. Boston, 1727. (458) The Evident Tokens of Salvation. Boston, 1727. (459) Family Religion excited and assisted. Boston, 1727. (460) Hor-Hagigad. . . . An Happy Departure. Occasioned by the Decease of . . . Mr William Waldron, etc. Boston, 1727. (461) Ignorantia Scientifica. A brief Essay on Mans not knowing his Time: etc. Boston, 1727. (462) Juga Jucunda. A brief Essay to obtain from Young People, an early and hearty submission to the yoke of their Saviour . . . With a relation of the glorious peace and joy, which brightened the dying hours of Mrs Abiel Goodwin, etc. Boston, 1727, 1728. [Given in Sibley under the title, Some Remarkables on the Peaceful and Joyful Death of Mrs Abiel Oodwin, etc. 1727. The title Juga Jucunda, affixed to the ed. of 1728.] (463) The Marrow of the Gospel. A very brief Essay, on the Union Between the Redeemer and the Beleever. Boston, 1727. (464) Preface to J. Emerson's Important Duty of a Timely Seeking of God. 1727. (465) Restitutus. The End of Life Pursued, And then, The Hope in Death Enjoyed, by the Faithful . . . The Declaration of One Returning from the Gates of the Grave. Boston, 1727. (466) Signatus. The Sealed Servants of our God . . . Or, The Witness of the Holy Spirit, with the Spirit of the Beleever, to his Adoption of God, etc. Boston, 1727, 1748. (467) The Terror of the Lord. Some Account of the Earthquake that shook New-England, In the Night, Between the 29 and the 30 of October 1727. Etc. Boston, 1727. Three editions published the same year. (468) The Comfortable Chambers. Opened and Visited, upon the Departure of . . . Mr Peter Thatcher, etc. Boston, 1728, 1796. [The last sermon delivered by him. Printed after his death.] (469) The Mystical Marriage. A Brief Essay, on The Grace of the Redeemer Espousing the Soul of the Believer. Etc. Boston, 1728. (470) The Widow of Nain. Remarks On the Illustrious Miracle Wrought by Our Almighty Redeemer, on behalf of a Desolate Widow. Boston, 1728. (471) Discipline Practised in the Churches of New England, containing the Principles owned and the Endeavours used by them. Whit-church, Salop. 1823. (472) The Life of Mr. Thomas Dudley, Several Times Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts. Written, as is supposed, By Cotton Mather. Ed. by Charles Deane, Cambridge, 1870. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. Jan., 1870. Also, in Adler, The Sutton-Dudleys of England and the Dudleys of Massachusetts. New York, 1862. (473) Diary. Edited by Worthington C. Ford. Mass. Hist. Soc. Col. Seventh Series, vols. VII-VIII. Boston, 1911, 1912. (474) Letters: In N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. 16, 24, and 39; 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Col. 1 and 2; Colonial Soc. Mass. 5; New Hampshire Hist. Soc. Col. 3; Lit. and Hist. Soc. Quebec, 2. (475) In manuscript. In Amer. Antiquar. Soc. Lib.—Letters [more than 200]; Apologetical Preface to Davenport's Essay; Heads of Sermons [1 vol.]; Problema Theologicum; Misc. Fragments; Confutation of Shepard's Observations respecting the Lord's Supper; Tri-Paradisus; Quotations [4 vols.]; Sermons [3 vols.] In Mass. Hist. Soc. Lib.—Biblia Americana [6 folio vols.]; Papers relating to Witchcraft.

B. *Biography and Criticism*

Calef, Robert. More Wonders of the Invisible World. London, 1700. [An attack on the Mathers' activity during the Witchcraft trials.]

Colman, Benjamin. The Holy walk and glorious translation of blessed Enoch. A sermon preached at the Lecture in Boston, two days after the death of the Reverend and learned Cotton Mather D.D. & F.R.S. who departed this life Febr. 13. 1728. Ætat. 65. Boston, 1728.

Deane, Chas. The Light shed upon Cotton Mather's "Magnalia" by his Diary. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. VI, 404–414.

Dexter, Henry M. The Mather Family and its Influence. In Winsor's Memorial History of Boston. II, 297. Boston, 1880–86. [Sympathetic.]

Drake, S. G. Memoir, with a genealogy of the Mather family. N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. VI, 9.

Francke, Kuno. Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke. Harvard Studies in Phil. and Lit. V, 57–67.

Gee, Joshua. Israel's mourning for Aaron's death. A sermon preached on the Lord's-day after the death of the very Reverend and learned Cotton Mather. Boston, 1728.

Goddard, Delano A. The Mathers [Cotton and Increase] weighed in the balances . . . and found not wanting. Boston and London, 1870.

Haven, Sam'l F. The Mathers and the Witchcraft Delusions. Worcester, 1874. [Reprinted from Am. Antiquar. Soc. Proc.]

Haynes, Henry W. Cotton Mather and his Slaves. Am. Antiquar. Soc. Proc. New Series, VI.

Kittredge, G. L. Some Lost Works of Cotton Mather. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. XLV, 418–479. Boston, 1912. [Important for the light it sheds on the Inoculation controversy.]

Marvin, Rev. A. P. The Life and Times of Cotton Mather. Boston, 1892.

Mather, Samuel. The Departure and Character of Elijah considered and improved. A sermon after the decease of . . . C. Mather, etc. Boston, 1728.

—— Life of Cotton Mather. Boston, 1729. Re-issued in abridged form, Boston, 1744.

Peabody, W. B. O. Life of Cotton Mather. In Sparks's Amer. Biog. VI, 163–350. 1854.

Peirce, B. History of Harvard University. Cambridge, 1833.

Poole, W. F. Cotton Mather and Salem Witchcraft. Boston, 1869. Reprinted from North American Review, CVIII, 337–397. [An able defense, written in reply to Upham.]

Prince, Thomas. The Departure of Elijah lamented. A sermon occasioned by the great & publick loss in the decease of the very Reverend & learned Cotton Mather, D.D. F.R.S. etc. Boston, 1728.

Quincy, J. History of Harvard University. Cambridge, 1840.

Robbins, C. A History of the Second Church, or Old North, in Boston. Etc. Boston, 1852.

Sibley, J. L. Harvard Graduates. III, 42–158. Cambridge, 1885. [With full bibliography.]

Sprague, Wm. B. Annals of the American Pulpit. I, 189–195. 1857.

Upham, C. W. Lectures on Witchcraft, comprising a History of the delusion in Salem in 1692, etc. Boston, 1831.

—— Salem Witchcraft; with an Account of Salem Village, and a History of

Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects. 2 vols. Boston, 1867. [An enlargement of the preceding.]
—— Salem Witchcraft and Cotton Mather. Reprinted from Hist. Mag. Sept., 1869. [A reply to Poole's criticism.]
Walker, Williston. The Services of the Mathers in New England Religious Development. Amer. Soc. Church History. V.
Wendell, B. Cotton Mather. The Puritan Priest. 1891. [The best life.]

IX. JOHN WISE (1652–1725)

A. *Separate Works*

(1) Instructions for the Emigrants from Essex County, Mass. to South Carolina. 1697. New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg., xxx, 64. (2) A Narrative of an Expedition against Quebec. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings. Nov. 1901. Reprinted, with introd. by Sam. A. Green. Cambridge, 1902. (3) The Churches Quarrel Espoused: or, A Reply in Satyre, to certain Proposals Made, in Answer to this Question, What further steps are to be taken, that the Councils may have due Constitution and Efficacy in Supporting, Preserving, and Well-Ordering the Interest of the Churches in the Country? [Commonly given as Boston, 1710. Evans lists it as New York, 1713.] Boston, 1715, 1745, 1772. Re-issued with no. 4, and with introd. by Rev. J. S. Clark. Boston, 1860. (4) A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches. Drawn from Antiquity; the Light of Nature; Holy Scripture; its Noble Nature; and from the Dignity Divine Providence has put upon it. With a Testimony to the order of the Gospel, in the Churches of New-England: left in the hands of the Churches; by the Two most aged Ministers of the Gospel yet surviving in the Countrey. [John Higginson, Wm. Hubbard.] Boston, 1717, 1772. [Two editions in latter year]. Re-issued with no. 3, Boston, 1860. A portion reprinted in Old South Leaflets, no. 165, vol. 7. (5) A Friendly check, from a kind relation. To the chief cannoneer. Founded on a late information, dated N. E. castle-William, 1720, 21. Boston, 1721. [Signed, Amicus Patriæ, and ascribed to Wise by Evans, Amer. Bib.] (6) A Word of Comfort to a Melancholy Country. Or the Bank of Credit . . . fairly defended by a Discovery of the Great Benefit, accruing by it to the whole Province, etc. Humbly dedicated to the Merchants in Boston. Boston, 1721. [Signed, Amicus Patriæ, and ascribed to Wise by Sibley and Evans. "A well-managed and witty plea for paper money and 'inflation.'"] (7) [Prayer for a Succession and Full Supply of Gospel Ministers. Sermon at Dover, 28 Oct., 1730. Boston 1731. Listed by Dexter. Doubtful. If by Wise the date is wrong.]

B. *Biography and Criticism*

Clark, Rev. J. S. Introd. to ed. issued by Cong. Board of Pub. Boston, 1860.
Dexter, Henry M. Congregationalism . . . as seen in its Literature. 1880.
Sibley, J. L. Harvard Graduates. II, 441.
Tyler, M. C. History of American Literature during the Colonial Period. 1904.
Walker, Williston. History of the Cong. Churches in the U. S. 1894.
White, John. The Gospel treasure in earthen vessels. A funeral sermon on the death of Rev. John Wise; preached 11th April, 1725. [With A character of the Reverend John Wise. By Another Hand.] Boston, 1725.

CHAPTER IV

JONATHAN EDWARDS

I. The Manuscripts of Jonathan Edwards

Most of the manuscripts from which the works published during Edwards's lifetime were printed have vanished. Some of the manuscripts used by Dr. S. E. Dwight in the preparation of the edition of Edwards's works published in 1829 have likewise disappeared. Of the manuscripts which remain Yale University and the Andover Theological Seminary possess practically the entire number. Miss Agnes Park of Andover, Mass., owns the record of the Edwards family from the family Bible, and also a thin note book on "Things to be Inquired into," written on scraps of fan paper. In addition she has a few private letters and some sermons of Timothy Edwards, the father of Jonathan Edwards.

It has frequently been suggested that some of the manuscripts of Edwards should exist in Scotland. None were found, however, by Dr. F. B. Dexter in a search undertaken some ten years ago.

A. *The Edwards Manuscripts at Yale University*

The Yale collection of Edwards manuscripts is that left at Edwards's death to his widow. Dr. Sereno E. Dwight used it in editing Edwards's works in 1829. In accord with the wishes of the great-grandchildren of Edwards, the manuscripts were deposited in the library of Yale University in 1900. They include:

Bible (Interleaved and annotated). Catalogue (Mainly literary notes and notes on books purchased or read). Doctrine of Original Sin (Incomplete). Early treatment of the Trinity (No title. Topics for investigation in Old Testament History for the boys of the Northampton congregation are included in the same cover). Images or Shadows of Devine Things (Also called The Book of Nature and Common Providence). Miscellaneous Observations (Eight volumes of about 1400 pages or 1412 entries). Notes on the Bible (Three quarto volumes). Notes on Natural Science (Cover page only). Reply to Solomon Williams on the Qualifications for Communion (Early draft). Sermons (Fifty undated, probably written before 1727. Five hundred about 1727–1741. Three hundred sermon outlines, 1741–1750. One hundred seventy-five Stockbridge sermon outlines. Of this whole collection only about fifty sermons have been published). Sermon Note Book (Begun about 1738. Contains "plans of discourses, texts from which the writer proposed to preach, and the doctrines deducible from them").

B. *The Edwards Manuscripts at The Andover Theological Seminary*

The Andover collection of manuscripts is part of that made by Dr. Sereno E. Dwight for his edition, and subsequently passed to Andover. The collection is not finally catalogued, although a card index has been prepared.

(a) *Letters*

The collection contains 150 letters by Edwards, including his earliest dated writing—a letter to his sister Mary, May 10, 1716—and also letters to Scotch clergymen and to Indian agents. There are in addition about fifteen letters to Edwards, and above one hundred and fifty letters by or to contemporary relatives or acquaintances.

(b) *Miscellaneous*

Edwardiana: These manuscripts include thirty-five items, among them twenty letters and three sermons by Edwards's father, the diary of Edwards, 12 Jan.–5 Feb., 1722–1723 (Copy), an Indian vocabulary, memoranda of Edwards's cash account, and shorthand writings of Edwards deciphered in 1901. Dwightiana: These manuscripts are mainly connected with Dwight's edition of Edwards.

(c) *Scientific and Theological Writings*

Atoms (Copy, fragmentary). The Flying Spider (With diagrams). Leaves and Flowers and Fruits. Notes on Science (A fragment). Notes on Science (A leaf containing "Light," "Elasticity," "Ice," two lines of shorthand, and a diagram). Observations on the Phenomena of Nature ("Sun," "Moon," "Comets," "Sound," "Rain"). Of Being. Of Insects, Giving an Account of the Flying Spider (First draft). Of the Rainbow (diagram). A paper on the soul, criticising the notion that the soul is material.

(d) *Sermons*

There are five sermons by Edwards in the original, about sixty copies, and about fifty sermon plans in the collection.

(e) *Theological Writings*

The Book of Nature and of Common Providence (Copy). Disquisition in Latin ("Peccator etc."). Disquisition on Rules given in Exodus (Fragment). The Fulfilment of the Prophecies of the Messiah, and Supplement. Instruction of Children in Scripture (Fragment of rough draft). A Narration of Difficulties and Proceedings with reference to the Question of Terms ot Admission to Church Membership (Copy). Observations concerning the Scripture Oeconomy of the Trinity and Covenant of Redemption (Copy and second copy). Observations on Theological Subjects (Copy, 1646 pages. Called also Miscellanies. Original at Yale). Observations on the Types of Scripture. On Fornication (A fragment). Prophecies of the Messiah, and Supplement (Both original and copy). Qualifications for a Minister. Qualification for Communion (Fragment). Remarks on Lord Kames's Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion (Included in a letter to Rev. John Erskine). Scripture Passages on Heaven and Hell. Treatise on Grace (Copy). Whether Moral Suasion without Devine Influence is Enough to make the Sinner a Penitent Believer.

II. COLLECTED WORKS

Works. (Memoir by Hopkins, S.) 8 vols. Ed. Williams, E., and Parsons, E., Leeds, 1806–11. New ed. 8 vols. London, 1817 (Reprint 1837?). Vols. 9 and 10 supplementary to London ed., ed. Ogle, R., Edinburgh, 1847. Ed. Austin, S., Worcester, 1808–9, 8 vols. Ed. Dwight, S. E., New York, 1829, 1830, 10 vols. Ed. Hickman, E., London, 1833, 2 vols. Same (with Essay on his Genius and Writings by Rogers, H., and Memoir by Dwight, S. E.), London, 1834, 1839, 1840, 1865. With Essay by Rogers, H., 2 vols. in 1, London, 1835. Edinburgh, 1847, 10 vols. New York, Boston, Philadelphia, 1843, 4 vols. Reprint of Worcester edition with additions and index, 6 vols. (vols. 5–6 the Edinburgh supplementary vols.), New York, 1847. Vols. 1–4, 1844, 1847, 1852, 1856, 1857, 1863, 1868, 1879, 1881.

III. Separate Works

Works listed in Evans, American Bibliography, are noted E. and given the number assigned to them in that work.

God Glorified in the Work of Redemption, by the Greatness of Man's Dependence upon him in the Whole of it. Boston, 1731. (E. 3415.)

A Devine and Supernatural Light, Immediately Imparted to the Soul by the Spirit of God, Shown to be both a Scriptural and a Rational Doctrine. Boston, 1734. (E. 3768.) Abstract, Boston, [1800?].

Curse Ye Meroz; A Sermon on Judges V: 33. (Not found by Dwight, but probably published in 1735. Not in Evans.)

Part of a Large Letter from the Rev. Mr. Edwards of Northampton giving an account of the Late Wonderful Work of God in those Parts. Boston, 1736. (E. 4103. Dated Nov. 6, 1736. Appended to The Duty and Interest of a People, by William Williams.)

A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton, and the Neighboring Towns and Villages . . . . In a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Colman of Boston. Boston, 1737. (E. 4137.) (Part of a Large Letter rewritten at greater length.) With preface by Dr. Watts and Dr. Guyse. London, 1737. 2d. ed. London, 1738. Boston, 1738. (E. 4240.) Edinburgh, 1738. London, 1744. Bristol, 1749. Ed. Wesley, J., Bristol, [1755?]. London, 1755. With True Grace Distinguished . . . Elizabethtown, 1790. (E. 22477.) As Some Remarkable Narratives of the Success of the Gospel . . . To which is Added an Account of the Character of the Rev. Dr. Brainerd. Huddersfield, 1791. London, 1798, [1800?], 1805. With advertisement by Fawcett, J., and Steadman, W., Halifax, 1808. Boston, 1831 (Rev. from ed. 1738). With Thoughts on the Revival of Religion. New York, 1832. With an account of the conversion of the author. Worcester, 1832. With introductory essay by Smith, J. P. Glasgow, 1839. In Edwards on Revivals (Preface by James, J. A.) Rev. by Patton, W. London, 1839. With Thoughts on Religion. New York, n. d. London, n. d. German by Steinmetz, J. A. Magdeburg, 1738. Dutch by deLong, I. Amsterdam, 1740. Leeuwarden, 1750.

A Letter to the Author of the Pamphlet called an Answer to the Hampshire Narrative. Boston, 1737. (E. 4152. Anonymous, but given to Edwards by Dexter, Biographical Sketches, 1885.)

Discourses on Various Important Subjects, nearly concerning the Great Affair of the Soul's Eternal Salvation . . . Boston, 1738. (E. 4239.) Boston and Edinburgh, 1785. This work contained: 1. Justification by Faith Alone. 2. Pressing into the Kingdom of God. 3. Ruth's Resolution. [Repub. sep. New Haven(?), 1760. (E. 8589.) Hartford, n. d.] 4. The Justice of God in the Damnation of Sinners. [Reprint. sep. Boston, 1773 (E. 12757.) Rev. and cor. Boston and London, 1774, 1788. With True Grace. Hartford, 1799. With Northampton Farewell. Northampton, [1800?]. Newark, N. J., 1814. As The Justice of God Displayed in the Endless Punishment of the Wicked. Boston, n. d.] 5. The Excellency of Jesus Christ. [Reprinted sep. Northampton, 1780. 2d ed. 1780. Boston, 1805. London, 1844.]

The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God. . . . Preface. . . Rev. Mr. Cooper. . . . Boston, 1741. (E. 4711.) Reprinted by Benj. Franklin, Philadelphia, 1742 (E. 4937). London, 1742. Glasgow, 1742.

With Epistle by the Rev. Mr Wilson. Edinburgh, 1742. In extract by Wesley, J. London, 1744. 2d ed. 1755. Philadelphia, 1791. (E. 23342.) In Christian Library. Vol. 30. London, 1827.

The Resort and Remedy of those that are Bereaved by the Death of an Eminent Minister. . . . Boston, 1741. (E. 4712.)

Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God. . . . Boston, 1741. (E. 4713.) 2d ed. Boston, 1742. (E. 4938.) Boston and Edinburgh, 1745. As supplement to True Grace. New York, 1753. (E. 6996.) Boston and New York, 1769. (E. 11244.) As The Danger of the Unconverted. . . Boston, 1770 (E. 11640). 3rd ed. Boston, 1772. Salem, 1786 (E. 19618). 4th ed., Charlestown, 1802. Philadelphia, [182-?]. Louisville, Ky., [182-?]. Rewritten in modern style by Clark, D. A. Amherst, 1826. In Fish, H. C., History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence. New York, 1857. 2 vols. Also in The Great Sermons of the Great Preachers. London, 1858. As Select Sermons, No. 25, R. T. S. n. d. Choctaw. Park Hill, 1845.

Some Thoughts concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England. . . Boston, 1742. (E. 4939.) Edinburgh, 1743. Abridged by Wesley, J., London, 1745. (Also in Christian Library. Vol. 30. London, 1827?) Abridged by Gordon, W., London, 1762. Boston, 1768. (E. 10888.) New York, 1768 (E. 10889). Edinburgh, 1772. London, 1774. Boston, 1784 (E. 18453). With Life, Elizabethtown, N. J., 1787. Edinburgh, 1789. Lexington, Ky., 1803. Worcester, 1808. Philadelphia, 1821. With A Faithful Narrative. New York, 1832. With Edwards's account of his conversion. Worcester, 1832. With Narrative of the Revival and Introductory Essay by Smith, J. P. Glasgow, 1834. In Edwards on Revivals. (Preface by James, J. A., rev. by Patton, W.) London, 1839. London, 1845. With Narrative. Amer. T. S. New York, n. d.

The Great Concern of a Watchman for Souls . . . A Sermon . . . at the Ordination of the Rev. Mr. Judd. Boston, 1743. (E. 5172.)

The True Excellency of a Minister of the Gospel. A Sermon. . . . Boston, 1744. (E. 5385.)

Copies of the two Letters cited by the Rev. Mr. Clap in his late printed Letter to a Friend in Boston. . . . Boston, 1745. (E. 5581.)

An expostulatory Letter from the Rev. Mr. Edwards of Northampton to Rev. Mr. Clap, Rector of Yale College in New Haven. . . . Boston, 1745. (E. 5582.)

The Church's Marriage to her Sons. . . . A Sermon. . . . Boston, 1746. (E. 5766.)

A Treatise concerning Religious Affection, in Three Parts. Boston, 1746. (E. 5767.) London, 1762. 2d ed. Boston and New York, 1768 (E. 18454) Elizabethtown, 1787. (E. 20339.) Edinburgh, 1789. With Life of Edwards. Boston, 1794. London, 1796. Abridged by Wesley, J., London, 1801. Worcester, 1808. Edinburgh, 1810. Christian Lib., Vol. 30. London, [1814?]. Abridged and indexed. Boston, 1821. Glasgow, 1822, 1825, 1831. Boston, 1824. Evangelical Fam. Lib. Vol. 3. New York, [1824?]. Amer. T. S. New York, [183-?]. Books for the Heart. London, 1898, 1903. Dutch by van Werkhaven, M. Utrecht, 1779.

An Humble Attempt to Promote Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion. Boston, 1747. (E. 5938.) Northampton, 1789. Elizabethtown, N. J., 1794. Abridged as United Prayer for the Spread of the Gospel, London, 1814. London, 1831. French, Paris, 1823.

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See also II and III *supra*.

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CHAPTER V

PHILOSOPHERS AND DIVINES

1720–1789

I. GENERAL AUTHORITIES

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See also, General Authorities, *supra*, pp. 363-65.

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II. PARTICULAR WRITERS

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—— A Discourse Occasioned by the Death of the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew, Late Pastor of the West-Church in Boston. Boston, 1766.

—— The Benevolence of the Deity, Fairly and Impartially Considered. Boston, 1784.

—— A Caveat against Enthusiasm. N. p. n. d.

SAMUEL JOHNSON (1696-1772)

A. *Published Works*

An Introduction to the Study of Philosophy, exhibiting a General View of All the Arts and Sciences, for the Use of Pupils, with a Catalogue of some of the most valuable Authors necessary to be read in order to instruct them in a thorough Knowledge of each of them. By a gentleman educated at Yale College. 2d ed. enlarged. New London, 1743. First published at London in The Republic of Letters, May, 1731. As Introduction to the Study of Philosophy. In Clap, Thomas, Catalogue of the Library of Yale College. New London, 1743.

Elementa Ethica, or the First Principles of Moral Philosophy . . . by Aristocles. Boston, 1746.

Elementa Philosophica: Containing chiefly Noetica, or Things relating to the Mind or Understanding; and Ethica, or Things relating to the Moral Behaviour. Philadelphia, 1752. [Noetica: or the First Principles of Human Knowledge. Being a Logick, including both Metaphysics and Dialectic, or the Art of Reasoning. With a brief Pathology, and an account of the Gradual Progress of the Human Mind, from the first Dawnings of Sense to the highest Perfection, both Intellectual and Moral, of which it is capable. To which is prefixed a short Introduction to the Study of the Sciences.]

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Stillé, Charles J. A Memoir of the Rev. William Smith. Philadelphia, 1869. (P. 10. Refers to the use of Johnson's Elements, in spite of Smith's adverse views expressed to the Rev. Richard Peters.)

JONATHAN MAYHEW (1720–1766)

A. *Writings*

A Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers; with Some Reflections on the Resistance made to King Charles I. Boston, 1750, 1818.

Sermons. Boston, 1755.

Two Sermons On the Nature, Extent and Perfection of the Divine Goodness. Delivered December 9, 1762. Being the Annual Thanksgiving of the Province. Boston, 1763. [Sermon II. Some Objections against the goodness of God considered; and the Subject applied to the Occasion, with practical Inferences and Reflexions.]

Discourse occasioned by the Earthquakes in November, 1755. 18 December, 1755.

B. *Biography and Criticism*

Bradford, Alden. Memoir of the Life and Writings of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., Pastor of the West Church and Society in Boston, from June, 1747 to July, 1766. Boston, 1838.

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GEORGE WHITEFIELD (1714-1770)

A. *Writings Relating to America*

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The Two First Parts of his Life, with his Journals. Revised, corrected and abridged. London, 1756.

A Select Collection of Letters of the Late Reverend George Whitefield, M. A. . . . written to His most intimate Friends, and Persons of Distinction in England, Scotland, Ireland, and America. From the Year 1734 to 1770. London, 1772.

Some Remarks on a Pamphlet entitled, the Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared; wherein several Mistakes in some Parts of his past Writings and Conduct are acknowledged, and his present Sentiments concerning the Methodists explained. London, 1749.

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Serious Considerations on Various Subjects of Importance. . . . With Some of his Dying Expressions. London, 1773.

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Russell, A. C. Characteristics. Boston, 1884.

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CHAPTER VI

FRANKLIN

A. *Collected Works*

1773. Oeuvres de M. Franklin . . . Traduites de l'Anglois sur la quatrième Edition. Par M. Barbeu Dubourg. Avec des Additions Nouvelles. . . . Paris. 2 vols.

1779. Political, Miscellaneous, and Philosophical Pieces; Arranged under the following Heads, and Distinguished by Initial Letters in Each Leaf: (G. P.) General Politics; (A. B. T.) American Politics before the Troubles; (A. D. T.) American Politics during the Troubles; (P. P.) Provincial or Colony Politics; and (M. P.) Miscellaneous or Philosophical Pieces. . . . Now first collected. . . . London. [Ed. Vaughan, B.]
Italian translation, Padua, 1783.

1780. Des Herrn D. Benjamin Franklin's . . . sämmtliche Werke Aus dem Englischen und Französischen übersetzt . . . mit Einigen Anmerkungen versehen von G. T. Wenzel.

1787. Philosophical and Miscellaneous Papers. Lately written by B. Franklin. London. [Ed. Bancroft.]

1793. Works of the late Doctor Benjamin Franklin. Consisting of His Life Written by Himself, together with Essays, Humorous, Moral, & Literary. Chiefly in the Manner of The Spectator. In two Volumes. . . . London [Ed. by Vaughan, Benjamin]. *See* Ford, P. L., Franklin Bibliography,

Brooklyn, 1899, for a list of editions which are "practically reproductions" of the above.

1806. The Complete Works in Philosophy, Politics, and Morals, of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin, now first collected and arranged with Memoirs of his early life, written by himself. In Three Volumes. . . . London. [Ed. by Marshall.] 2d ed. [1811.]

1818. Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin. . . . Written by himself to a late period, and continued to the time of his death, by his Grandson; William Temple Franklin. Now first published from the original MSS. Comprising the Private Correspondence and Public Negotiations of Dr. Franklin, and a selection from his Political, Philosophical, and Miscellaneous Works. London. 3 vols. 4to. [Ford gives on the authority of Sabin an octavo issue in 6 vols., but doubts whether the first edition was so issued. "This is the first publication of any of the autobiography as written by Franklin, and of the third part in any form. It is followed by a continuation which is of great value." Ford.] 2d and 3d eds. 6 vols. London, 1818. French translation of a part of the edition in Mémoires sur la Vie et les Écrits de Benjamin Franklin. Paris, 1817–1819; German translation, 1817–1819, Weimar; 1829, Kiel; 1833, London. Vols. v and vi of the second edition, The Posthumous and Other Writings of Benjamin Franklin. . . . London, 1819, in 2 vols. 2d ed. London, 1819. 3d ed. London, 1819.

1818. The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, in Philosophy, Politics and Morals: containing, beside all the Writings published in former collections, his diplomatic correspondence . . . ; a variety of literary articles, and Epistolary correspondence, never before published: with Memoirs and anecdotes of his life. Vol. II. Philadelphia: Printed and published by William Duane. 1809. 6 vols.

Vol. I, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin . . . continued to the time of his death by his Grandson, William Temple Franklin. . . . Philadelphia, 1818. ["The editor added many pieces to what had hitherto been printed as Franklin's, derived almost wholly from the books and MSS. which came into his possession by his marriage with the widow of Benjamin Franklin Bache." Ford.] An Augmented Edition with a Postliminious Preface was published in Philadelphia, 1834. New York, 1845, 1859, 1861.

1840. The Works of Benjamin Franklin; containing several political and historical tracts not included in any former edition, and many letters official and private not hitherto published; with notes and a life of the author. By Jared Sparks.—Boston. 10 vols. Later editions: Boston, 1856; London, 1882. ["Mr. Sparks added some six hundred and fifty pieces to what had before been printed in editions of Franklin's writings, with many long and scholarly notes, which in spite of succeeding editions still makes this among the most valuable." Ford.]

1889. The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin including his private as well as his official and scientific correspondence, and numerous letters and documents not included in any former collection, also the unmutilated and correct version of his autobiography, compiled and edited by John Bigelow.—New York. 10 vols. ["Mr. Bigelow has not only corrected many of Mr. Sparks's errors, but has added some six hundred new pieces to what had hitherto been printed as Franklin's." Ford.]

1905. The Writings of Benjamin Franklin collected and edited with a life and introduction by Albert Henry Smyth.—New York. Reprinted, 1907.

["385 letters and 40 articles not previously printed by any editor, all of which are from the pen of Franklin." In spite of an avowed endeavour "to make the present edition as complete and as accurate as human industry can make it," Smyth deliberately omitted certain pieces which he held unworthy of Franklin's moral and literary character.]

B. *Separate Works*

1725. A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain. . . . London; Dublin, 1733. London, 1854. Printed as an appendix to Parton's Life, 1864.

[1726.] Journal of Occurrences in my Voyage to Philadelphia. . . . (Printed by A. H. Smyth from a transcript in the library of Congress. Journal extends from 22 July, to 11 Oct., 1726.)

[1728.] Rules For a Club Established For Mutual Improvement (Title from Smyth).

1728. Articles of Belief and Acts Of Religion. . . . Philadelphia.

1729. A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper-Currency. . . . Philadelphia.

1735. Cato's Moral Distiches Englished in Couplets. Philadelphia. (Introduction by Franklin.)

1735. A Defense of the Rev. Mr. Hemphill's Observations. . . . Philadelphia.

1735. A Letter to a Friend in the Country, Containing the Substance of a Sermon Preach'd at Philadelphia in the Congregation of the Rev. Mr. Hemphill. . . . Philadelphia.

1735. Some Observations on the Proceedings against the Rev. Mr. Hemphill. . . . Philadelphia, second ed., 1735.

[1743.] A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations in America. [Philadelphia.]

1744. An Account of the New-Invented Pennsylvanian Fire Places. . . . Philadelphia.

1744. M. T. Cicero's Cato Major, or his Discourse of Old Age. . . . Philadelphia. [Introduction by Franklin.] Reprinted: Glasgow, 1751. Philadelphia, 1758. Glasgow, 1758. London, 1778. Philadelphia, [1809].

1746. Reflections on Courtship and Marriage. . . . Philadelphia, Edinburgh, 1750. Philadelphia, 1758. n. p., 1759.

1747. Plain Truth, or Serious Considerations on the Present State of the City of Philadelphia, and Province of Pennsylvania. By a Tradesman of Philadelphia. . . . [Philadelphia]; German translation [1747].

1749. Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania. Philadelphia.

1751. Experiments and Observation on Electricity made at Philadelphia in America. By Mr. Benjamin Franklin. . . . Communicated in several letters to P. Collinson. . . . London, 2d ed. London, 1754. 3d ed., London, 1760. French translation, Paris, 1752. "Second Edition," Paris, 1756. German translation, Leipzig, 1758.

1751. Idea of the English School, Sketch'd out for the Consideration of the Trustees of the Philadelphia Academy. Philadelphia. (Printed as appendix to "A Sermon on Education" by Richard Peters.)

1751. The Importance of Gaining and Preserving the Friendship of the Indians. . . . New York. (Letter appended attributed to Franklin.) London, 1751.

[1751.] Observations on the late and present Conduct of the French. . . . To which is added, wrote by another hand [Franklin]: Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, Etc. Boston, 1755. Reprinted, London, 1755. (The Observations were written in 1751.)

1753. Supplemental Experiments and Observations on Electricity, Part II, made at Philadelphia in America. . . . London. 2d ed. London, 1754. 3d. ed. 1762.

1754. New Experiments and Observations on Electricity. . . . Part III, London. 4th ed. 1765.

1754. Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital. . . . Philadelphia. Reprinted with continuation. Philadelphia, 1817.

[1754–6?] Plan For Settling Two Western Colonies in North America. (*See* Smyth's ed., vol. III, pp. 358 ff.)

1757. An Abridgement of Mr. Hopkins' Historical Memoirs. . . . Philadelphia. (Introduction by Franklin.)

[1757.] Poor Richard Improved. . . . Philadelphia. [Contains the collection of proverbs later issued separately as "Father Abraham's Speech," "The Way to Wealth," etc. Ford, who does not profess to have made an exhaustive list, records over one hundred and fifty editions and reprints of the speech.]

1759. An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania. . . . London. Included in the editions of Duane and Sparks. Reissued separately by Duane, Philadelphia, 1808. Philadelphia, 1812, reissue of 1st ed.

1759. Some Account of the Success of Inoculation for the Small-Pox. . . . London.

[1759?] [Parable Against Persecution] Second version, London, 176–? [London, 1793]. German translation, Dessau, 1855.

1759. A True and Impartial State of the Province of Pennsylvania. . . . Philadelphia.

1760. The Interest of Great Britain Considered with Regard to her Colonies, and the Acquisitions of Canada and Guadaloupe. To which are added, Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind. . . . London. 2d ed., London, 1761. Reprinted, Boston, 1760. 2d ed., 1760. Philadelphia, 1760. Dublin, 1760.

1764. Cool Thoughts on the Present Situation of our Public Affairs. . . . Philadelphia. Printed by W. Dunlap; also, the same date, Printed by A. Stewart.

1764. A Narrative of the late Massacres in Lancaster County. . . . [Philadelphia]; translated into German the same year.

1764. [A Petition to the King.]

1764. Remarks on a late Protest against the Appointment of Mr. Franklin An Agent for this Province. [Philadelphia.] German translation, [Germantown, 1764.]

1764. The Speech of Joseph Galloway, Esq. . . . [Preface by Franklin], Philadelphia, 2d ed., Philadelphia, 1764. London, 1765. German translation. Philadelphia, 1764.

[1766.] The Examination of Doctor Benjamin Franklin. . . . [London, 1766]; another edition [London], with date 1767; [Philadelphia, 1766]; [New York, 1766]; [Boston, 1766?]; Williamsburg, 1766; Boston, 1766; [New London, 1766]; Strasbourg, [1767], (French translation); German translation, Philadelphia, 1766. Also published in several collections of tracts; see Ford, p. 133.

1766. Physical and Meteorological Observations and Suppositions. . . . Read at the Royal Society, June 3, 1756. London. (Originally printed in the Transactions of the Royal Society.)

1768. The Art of Swimming. . . . To which are added . . . An Advice to Bathers by the late Celebrated Dr. Benjamin Franklin. London, New York, 1818. London, 1854.

1768. The True Sentiments of America contained in a Collection of Letters. . . . London. Contains Franklin's Causes of the American Discontents before 1768.

1768. Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania [John Dickinson]. . . . London. Preface to this ed. by Franklin. French translation, Paris, 1769.

1769. Experiments and Observations on Electricity. . . . To which are added, Letters on Philosophical Subjects. The Whole corrected, methodized, improved, and now first collected into one Volume. . . . London.

1770. Letters to the Merchants Committee of Philadelphia, submitted to the Consideration of the Public. [Philadelphia, 1770.] (Contains letters of Franklin dated 1769.)

1771. [Plan for benefiting distant unprovided countries. By Alexander Dalrymple and Benjamin Franklin.]

1772. Report of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations of the Honourable Thomas Walpole, Benjamin Franklin, John Sargent and Samuel Wharton. . . . With Observations and Remarks. London. [The editors of Franklin's works attribute the Observations to Franklin; Professor C. W. Alvord, in the [New York] Nation, 20 Aug., 1914, argues that the author was Samuel Wharton.]

1772. Two letters, addressed to the Right Rev. Prelates, who a second Time rejected the Dissenters' Bill. London. (Franklin's "Letter concerning persecutions in former Ages" appended.)

1773. Abridgement of the Book of Common Prayer. . . . London. (Preface and abridgement of Catechism and Psalms by Franklin.)

[1773.] Rules for Reducing a Great Empire to a Small One. . . . London. (Public Advertiser, Oct., 1773.)

1773. The Votes and Proceedings of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the town of Boston. London. (Preface by Franklin.)

1774. Considerations on the Agreement of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury with the Honourable Thomas Walpole and his Associates. . . . London.

1774. Experiments and Observations on Electricity . . . To which are added, Letters and Papers on Philosophical Subjects. The whole corrected, methodized, improved, and now collected into one Volume. . . . The Fifth Edition. London.

1774. Of the Stilling of Waves by means of Oil; extracted from Sundry Letters. . . . London.

1774. Principles of Trade [by George Whately]. . . . Second Edition corrected and enlarged. . . . London. (Notes by Franklin.)

1774. Scelta di Lettere e di Opuscoli. . . . Milan.

1775. Additions to Common Sense. . . . London. (Contains Franklin's "Proposals for a Confederation of the United Colonies.")

1778. [Franklin to Madame Helvétius. Two editions. Passy.]

1779. Remarks on the Rescript of the Court of Madrid . . . To which is added an appendix, containing . . . A Memorial of Dr. Franklin to the Court of Versailles. . . . London.

[1778 written.] [The Ephemera; an emblem of Human Life. Passy.] (Reprinted in American Museum, Oct., 1790.)

1779. [The Whistle. . . . Passy]; Burlington, 1792. London, 1793. Paris, 1795, 1798. London, 1806, 1818.

[1779.] [The Morals of Chess. Passy.] London, 1797. Philadelphia, 1802. London, 1809, 1816, 1820. Philadelphia, 1824. Boston, 1841.

[1780.] [Dialogue Between Franklin And The Gout. In French and in English. Passy.] Paris, 1795, 1798. London, 1806.

[1781?] [The Handsome And The Deformed Leg. In French. Passy.]

1782. Numb. 705. Supplement To The Boston Independent Chronicle. Boston, March 12. Extract of a Letter from Capt. Gerrish, of the New-England Militia. (First Passy edition, folio sheet printed on one side.)

Numb. 705. Supplement To The Boston Independent Chronicle. Boston March 12. Extract of a Letter from Capt. Gerrish. . . . [Also a copy of a Letter from Commodore Jones directed to Sir Joseph York.] (Second Passy edition, folio sheet printed on both sides. This edition was reproduced on a folio sheet inserted in Duane's edition of Franklin's works with the following heading: "Volume VII. Number 1095. Supplement to the Boston Chronicle. Monday, March 13, 1782." This heading was erroneously given by Ford as that of the Passy edition.)

1782. Opere Filosofiche di Beniamino Franklin. . . . Padua.

1784. [Avis à ceux qui voudraient s'en aller en Amérique. In French and in English. Passy.] Hamburg, 1786. London, 1794. London, 1796. German, [n. p. 179-?].

1784. Exposé des Expériences qui ont été faites pour l'Examen du Magnétisme Animal. Lu à l'Académie de Sciences, par M. Bailly, en son nom & au nom du M.M. Franklin, Le Roy, De Bourg & Lavoisier, le 4 Septembre 1784, . . . Paris. Reprinted, Paris, 1784.

1784. Rapport des Commissaires chargés par le Roi de l'Examen du Magnétisme Animal. . . . Paris. Reprinted, Paris, 1784. London, 1785. Philadelphia, 1837, and 2d ed., 1837.

1784. [Remarks concerning the Savages of North America. In French and in English. Passy.] Birmingham, 1784. Paris, 1794.

1784. Two Tracts: Information to those who would remove to America, and, Remarks concerning the Savages of North America. By Dr. Benjamin Franklin. London. 2d and 3d eds., 1784. Dublin, 1784. Padua, 1785.

1785. Maritime Observations. . . . Philadelphia. Paris, 1787. London, 1787.

1785. Observations on the Causes and Cure of Smoky Chimneys. . . . Philadelphia. London, 1787. 2d ed. 1785. Another, 1793.

1785. Observations on a late publication intituled Thoughts on Executive Justice. To which is added A Letter concerning Remarks on the same work [by Franklin]. . . . London.

[1786.] Description of a new stove for burning of pitcoal [read at a meeting of the American Philosophical Society, Jan. 28, 1786. Published in the Transactions, II, 57.]

1787. Avis aux Faiseurs de Constitutions. Par M. Benjamin Franklin. [Paris.]

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

This work was composed at four different times:

I. From 1706 to 1731 at Twyford in 1771.
II. From 1731 at Passy in 1784.

III. From 1731 to 1757 at Philadelphia in 1788.
IV. From 1757 to 1759 at Philadelphia in 1789.

Part I in French translation was printed at Paris in 1791—the first appearance in print of any portion of the autobiography. Part II was first printed in La Decade for February, 1798, and thence reprinted in Castéra's edition of Franklin's writings, 1798. Part III appeared first in W. T. Franklin's edition—the first edition of the autobiography as written by Franklin. Part IV first appeared in Renouard's edition of the writings, Paris, 1828. The complete work as Franklin wrote it was first published by Bigelow in 1868.

Continuations were supplied to the Paris edition of 1791 by Gibelin; by the editor of the Private Life, London, 1793; by Vaughan (from Stuber's biography) in the Works, London, 1793; by Weems in 1815; by W. T. Franklin in the Memoirs, London, 1818; by the editor of the Edinburgh ed. of 1838; by Jared Sparks in 1840; by Weld in 1848; by Bigelow in Philadelphia, 1874; by H. E. Scudder in Riverside Literature Series, 1886; by D. H. Montgomery, Boston, 1888. By William MacDonald in the Temple Autobiographies Series, London, 1905.

1787. Mémoires de la Vie Privée de Benjamin Franklin, Écrits par lui-même et addressés à son fils. . . . Paris. [Many later editions. See Ford, P. L., Franklin Bibliography.]

1817. Corréspondance Inédite et Secrète . . . Publiée pour la première fois en France. . . . Paris. 2 vols. (Taken from vols. v and vi of Duane's ed. of the Works.

1817. The Private Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin . . . Now first published from the originals by his grandson William Temple Franklin. London. (Sold separately, but forms vol. iii of the Works.) 4to. Another ed. in 2 vols., 8vo, the same year; also a 2d and 3d ed. of the same in 1817. French translation, Paris, 1817. London, 1833.

1833. A Collection of the Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin; now for the first time published. [By Jared Sparks.] Boston, 1833. London, 1833.

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CHAPTER VII

COLONIAL NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES, 1704-1775

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II. Chronological List of Colonial Magazines

For convenience, an attempt has been made to show where these rare periodicals may be found. The list is by no means exhaustive. Libraries are indicated as follows:

A. A. S. = American Antiquarian Society
B. M. = British Museum
B. P. L. = Boston Public Library
J. C. B. = John Carter Brown Library
H. S. P. = Historical Society of Pennsylvania
L. O. C. = Library Company of Pennsylvania
L. C. P. = Library Company of Philadelphia
M. H. S. = Massachusetts Historical Society
N. Y. H. S. = N. Y. Historical Society
N. Y. P. L. = New York Public Lib.
N. Y. S. L. = New York Society Library
Y. C. = Yale College

The American Magazine, or a Monthly View of the Political State of the British Colonies. Ed. John Webbe. Andrew Bradford. Philadelphia, 1741. Three numbers only appeared. Only one copy known to exist. N. Y. H. S.

The General Magazine, and Historical Chronicle, for all the British Plantations in America. Benjamin Franklin. Philadelphia, 1741. Jan.–June. Six numbers only were issued. A. A. S. H. S. P. N. Y. P. L.

The Boston Weekly Magazine. Rogers and Fowle. Boston, 1743. Mar.–Apr. Three or four numbers only were issued. M. H. S. ("A hasty and immature Production," as Jeremy Gridley called it, and published evidently to hinder subscriptions to his own projected magazine. The attempt failed.)

The Christian History. Kneeland and Green. Boston, 1743–1744. Published weekly for two years. A. A. S. B. P. L. (Edited by Thomas Prince, Jr. Devoted to the Great Awakening of religion in New England, with many enthusiastic articles on Whitefield.)

The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle. Rogers and Fowle. Boston, 1743–1746. A. A. S. B. P. L. M. H. S. N. Y. P. L. (Edited by Jeremy Gridley, and published monthly for three years. A close imitation of The London Magazine.)

The Independent Reflector; or, Weekly Essays on Sundry Important Subjects; more particularly adapted to the Province of New York. James Parker. New York, Nov., 1752–Oct., 1753. N. Y. H. S. N. Y. S. L. Y. C. (Edited by William Livingston, John Morin Scott, and William Smith, Jr., "the triumvirate," arguing forcibly for the religious freedom of King's College.)

The Occasional Reverberator. J. Parker. New York, 1753. Sep.–Oct. Not more than four numbers published. N. Y. P. L. This paper had the same controversial purpose as The Independent Reflector.

The Instructor. J. Parker and W. Weyman. New York, 1755. Numbers 1 to 6. A weekly periodical.

The American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle for the British Colonies. By a Society of Gentlemen. William Bradford. Philadelphia. Oct. 1757–Oct., 1758. A. A. S. H. S. P. N. Y. P. L. (Edited by the Rev. William Smith. The best literary periodical before the Revolution, containing poems of Francis Hopkinson, Thomas Godfrey, Joseph Shippen, James Sterling, and Samuel Davies, along with original essays by William Smith, and others.)

The New American Magazine. By Sylvanus Americanus. James Parker. Woodbridge, 1758–1760. Jan., 1758–Mar., 1760. B. M. L. C. P. N. Y. H. S. M. H. S. (Edited by Samuel Nevill, this magazine became a kind of successor to The American Magazine, though of a less literary and more scientific character than the latter.)

The New-England Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure. (By Urbanus Filter) Benjamin Mecom. Boston, n. d. [1758.] No. 3 in A. A. S. (Three or four numbers only. Very little significant material. The attempt failed.)

Ein Geistliches Magazien. Germantown, 1764–1770. H. S. P. (Sermons and other theological material.)

The American Magazine, or General Repository. W. and T. Bradford. Philadelphia, Jan.–Sept., 1769. Nine numbers published. A. A. S. (Edited by Lewis Nicola. The Transactions of the American Philosophical Society were added to each number except the first, and, in general this magazine tended toward scientific interests, and political reports from Revolutionary town meetings.)

The Royal Spiritual Magazine: or, The Christian's Grand Treasure. By several Divines. Joseph Crukshank. Philadelphia, n. d. [1771.] A. A. S. H. S. P. (Theological dialogues expounding redemption.)

The Censor. Ezekiel Russell. Boston, Nov., 1771–Apr., 1772. B. A. M. H. S. (An able political weekly, defending the Governor against the radical, or Revolutionary party. Lieutenant Governor Oliver probably wrote the numbers signed *A Freeman.*)

The Royal American Magazine, or Universal Repository of Instruction and Amusement. Isaiah Thomas and afterwards Joseph Greenleaf. Boston, 1774–1775. (Edited and published by Isaiah Thomas until June, 1774, after which Joseph Greenleaf published it until March, 1775. A. A. S. B. P. L. M. H. S. N. Y. P. L. Y. C. This magazine has the famous Paul Revere engravings, and is interesting politically as a radical document. Its literary material, aside from inflammatory odes, is often conventional.)

The Pennsylvania Magazine; or, American Monthly Museum. R. Aitken. Philadelphia, Jan., 1775–July, 1776. A. A. S. H. S. P. J. C. B. (Edited by Thomas Paine. Very interesting politically. There are some good satires. News of English books is particularly full.)

CHAPTER VIII

AMERICAN POLITICAL WRITING, 1760–1789

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III. THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

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VIII. BIOGRAPHIES

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Tucker, G. The Life of Thomas Jefferson. 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1837.

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Magruder, A. B. John Marshall. Boston, 1885. Rev. ed. 1898. (American Statesmen series.)

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Tudor, W. Life of James Otis. Boston, 1823.

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CHAPTER IX

THE BEGINNING OF VERSE, 1610-1808

I. Bibliographies

A. *General*

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Wegelin, Oscar. Early American Poetry. 1903. Early American Poetry, 1800-1820. 1907.

B. *Special*

Dean, John Ward. Bibliography of Michael Wigglesworth, appended to his Memoir of Rev. Michael Wigglesworth. Albany, 1871.

Heartman, Chas. F. Phillis Wheatley: A Critical Attempt and a Bibliography of her Writings. 1915.

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II. Biography and Criticism

A. *General*

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See, also, general authorities, pp. 363–65.

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BOOK II

CHAPTER I

TRAVELLERS AND OBSERVERS, 1763-1846

Professor Max Farrand's suggestion to the American Historical Association of the need of a systematic bibliography of travels in America has been taken up by Messrs. Bernard C. Steiner and Louis H. Dielman, who are now collecting titles for the work.

The following lists may be supplemented by a general reference to the reprints, and various original works, by the indefatigable Dr. Thwaites, to the publications of the firms of Clark and Burrows Brothers, of Cleveland, and to the somewhat arbitrary editions by Elliot Coues.

The present bibliography, which is intended to be representative, and under the circumstances could not be made complete, contains no reference to manuscripts that have been made public since 1846. It is virtually restricted to American and British books in English, with a few on Canada, and a few translations. In general, but one place of publication has been noted for any one book. Some titles are given more fully than others, for purposes of illustration.

Several details in the chapter are derived from a manuscript article, entitled Fifty Years of Travels in the United States, 1789-1839, by Mr. H. Barrett Learned, of Washington, D. C.

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CHAPTER II

THE EARLY DRAMA

The basis of this Bibliography has been made the performed play. Closet dramas have not been recorded after 1800, unless for the sake of completeness, when they have been written by a practical playwright. Under individual authors, whose selection has been determined by their inclusion in the chapter, are listed titles of plays whether published or unpublished. First come those plays whose dates of initial performance are ascertainable. These are arranged chronologically according to the dates, which are indicated in parentheses at the end of the entries. These acted plays are followed where necessary by an alphabetical list of plays concerning whose occasion of performance uncertainty exists. In the preparation of the bibliography help has been given by Dr. Albert C. Baugh.

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George Henry Boker

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—— The Pawnee Chief.

William Dunlap

The Dramatic Works of William Dunlap. In Ten Volumes. Vol. I. The Father of An Only Child, Leicester, Fontainville Abbey, Darby's Return. Philadelphia, 1806. Vol. II. New York, 1816. (Voice of Nature, 1807.

Fraternal Discord, 1809. Italian Father, 1810. Good Neighbor, 1814.) Vol. III. New York, 1816. (Wife of Two Husbands, 1811. Abællino, 1814. Lovers' Vows, 1814. Peter the Great, 1814.) Volume I is paged continuously throughout. Volumes II and III are only editions of individual plays bound together with a collective title-page. No other volumes seem to exist.

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André; A Tragedy, in five acts. 1798. London, 1799. Rptd. Dunlap Society, 1887. *See also* COLLECTIONS. (Park Theatre, New York, 30 March, 1798.)

The Stranger. (Park Theatre, New York, 10 Dec., 1798.)

Sterne's Maria; or The Vintage, an opera. (Park Theatre, New York, 14 Jan., 1799.)

The Natural Daughter. A Comedy. (Park Theatre, New York, 8 Feb., 1799.)

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Count Benyowsky. (Park Theatre, New York, 1 Apr., 1799.)

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The School for Soldiers. (Park Theatre, New York, 4 July, 1799.)

Self-Immolation; or Family Distress. (Park Theatre, New York, 29 Nov., 1799.)

False Shame: or the American Orphan in Germany: A Comedy, in four acts. Original MS. in library of Brown University. (Park Theatre, New York, 11 Dec., 1799.)

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Blue Beard; or Female Curiosity: A Dramatic Romance, in three acts. 1802 (?), 1803, 1806. Jan., 1811. (Park Theatre, New York, 8 March, 1802.)

The Retrospect. A Patriotic Sketch. (Park Theatre, New York, 5 July, 1802.)

Peter the Great; or, the Russian Mother; a Play in five Acts. 1813 (?), March, 1814. (Park Theatre, New York, 15 Nov., 1802.)

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John Howard Payne

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Richelieu: A Domestic Tragedy. 1826. (Drury Lane, London, Feb., 1826.)

'Twas I, or The Truth A Lie. A Farce, in Two Acts. 1827. London (Lacy),

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Grandpapa. (Drury Lane, London, 25 May, 1825.)

Italian Bride. Play in Four Acts. (Not acted; written after 1832.)

Maid and Magpie. (Covent Garden, London, 15 Sept., 1815.)

Mazeppa. (Bowery Theatre, New York, 22 June, 1833.)

Norah: or, The Girl of Erin. (Covent Garden, London, 1 Feb., 1826.)

The Post-Chaise. (Park Theatre, New York, 21 Apr., 1826.)

The Robbers. (Sadler's Wells Theatre, 20 Sept., 1820.)

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The following plays appearing in Harrison's list (John Howard Payne, 1885, pp. 395–6) are known only by title:

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SHIRLEY V. LONG.

CHAPTER V

BRYANT AND THE MINOR POETS

BRYANT

H. C. Sturges's Chronologies of the Life and Writings of William Cullen Bryant, prefixed to the Roslyn edition of Bryant and also published separately, contains the most comprehensive bibliographical account of the poet that has appeared up to the present time. A chronology of the individual poems is included.

I. *Collected Works*

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The Story of the Fountain. 1872, 1881.
The Little People of the Snow. 1873, 1903.
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Note: Bryant was editor-in-chief of the New York Evening Post from 1829 to 1878. He was joint editor of the New York Review and Athenæum Magazine, 1825–1826.

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RICHARD HENRY DANA, SR.

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JAMES KIRKE PAULDING

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CLINTON MINDIL PANG.

CHAPTERS VI and VII

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For Bird's plays *see* the bibliography to Book II, Chap. II.

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HUGH HENRY BRACKENRIDGE

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The bibliography of the later editions is difficult, as the book underwent many revisions and changes. The four volumes of Part I were arranged as two and published at Philadelphia, etc., 1804–7. Part II appeared, again in two volumes, at Philadelphia, etc., 1807. The complete work was issued in four volumes at Philadelphia, 1815. The first three volumes of this edition contained all that had been published previously, and the fourth volume was made up of entirely new material. This edition forms the basis of most subsequent editions. There was another complete edition of both parts, Pittsburgh, 1819, 2 vols. Part I also appeared as follows: Philadelphia, 1808 [only one half of Part I, that is, vol. I and vol. II of the original edition of 1792–93]; Wilmington, Delaware, 1815, 1825; Philadelphia, 1846 [with notes and a memoir by H. M. Brackenridge and the illustrations by Darley], 1851, [1853?], 1855, [1856?] [In the 1856 edition Part I was issued in 2 vols., one called Adventures of Captain Farrago, and the other, Adventures of Major O'Regan.] Part II appeared as follows: Pittsburgh, 1853 [only one half of Part II, that is, vol. I of the 1819 Pittsburgh edition of Part II]; Philadelphia, 1857 [only vol. II of Part II].

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Charles Brockden Brown

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An Address to the Government of the United States, on the Cession of Louisiana to the French; and on the late Breach of Treaty by the Spaniards: including the Translation of a Memorial, on the War of St. Domingo, and Cession of the Mississippi to France, drawn up by a French Counsellor of State. . . . Philadelphia. . . . Baltimore. . . . Washington City. . . . 1803. Rev. ed., 1803.

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LYDIA MARIA CHILD

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JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

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Home as Found . . . Philadelphia . . . 1838. 2 vols. (In England as Home.)

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The Pathfinder; or the Inland Sea . . . Philadelphia . . . 1840. 2 vols.

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CHAPTER IX

EMERSON

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Unless otherwise noted, all the single essays and poems listed below appear in the Complete Works, 1903–4. Those marked * have been reprinted in Uncollected Writings, New York, [1912]. Those marked ** have not been republished, unless specially noted. A large proportion of the newspaper items listed are unauthorized reports of lectures and addresses.

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